1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

136 immemorial, the existence of wild herds in the same country may perhaps be doubted; but the general prevalence of the belief is worthy of being recorded.

• [782] The largest of the wild sheep is the *Nyan* or *Ovis Ammon* of naturalists. It is found only in the most inaccessible places, near the snow-limit. Specimens of the horns may generally be seen along with those of the ibex and shá (*Ovis montana*) on the religious piles of stones called *Maná*, where they are placed by the shepherds as votive offerings. The *Nyan* of the Tibetans is closely allied to the Kachkar of Badakshán and Chitrál. Mr. Blyth has, however, distinguished them by separate names, calling the latter *Ovis Polii*, after Marco Polo, who gave the first description of the animal.

Another species of wild sheep is the *Ná*. Vigne* calls it *Sná*, and describes it as of "the size of an ordinary sheep; of a dull brownish-gray colour, with curved, smooth, and four-sided horns." Csomo de Körös calls it a "large sheep-like deer." It is apparently the same as the *Náhur* of Nepal, and the *Ovis Náhur* of Hodgson and Blyth.†

A third species of wild sheep is the *Shá*,‡ which I have seen browsing in large flocks on the mountains, on the left bank of the Indus below Lé. The animal is as large as a stag, with strong wiry hair of a reddish-brown colour on the back, gradually changing to white on the stomach. The chest is covered with a long fringe of

* Travels, II. p. 280. The name is written *r.Na*, in Tibetan. See also Csomo de Körös, Dict. in voce.

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XVI. p. 360.

‡ *Shá-ba*, and the female *Shá-mo*. Csomo de Körös calls the *Shá*, a stag (Dict. in voce); but the real stag is called *Shu*. The horns of the *Shá* are shown in Plate VIII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In Devonshire, the "neck" consists of the finest ears of wheat, which are selected and tied up in a small sheaf by some old man, who stands in the midst of the reapers holding the "neck" with both hands. It is possible that the name may be derived from the sheaf having once been carried home and fastened round the neck of a pillar or wooden post, as in Ladák.

In Scotland, the farmers have a custom similar to one which prevails amongst the Botis of Spiti, Hangorang, and Kanáwar. The Scotch farmer weaves the first-cut corn into a threefold plait, which he places over his chimney-piece until the next harvest. The Boti peasant fixes three or more ears of barley outside his own door, and makes a votive offering of three or five, or some odd number of ears to his native divinity in the village *Thákúrdwára*.*

All these various customs would seem to have a common origin in the celebration of the harvest season, which in every country has been a time of rejoicing. The *adwan* and *juri* of the Hindus and the harvest-home of the English are similar to the private *ambarvalia* of the Romans. So also the votive offerings of the Tibetans were consecrated for the same object as the *lustratio* of the Romans. The former offered his first cuttings of corn with a prayer for a plentiful harvest, the latter performed their lustrations (ambarvalia) immediately before the sickle was put to the corn, to obtain the blessing of the gods on the fields which were thus lustrated.

* Gerard's Kanáwar, p. 98, and Capt. J. D. Cunningham's Notes on Moorcroft and Gerard, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. xiii. p. 246.

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son. 597 593 597 428

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods. 778 782

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit." 776 779

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak." 245 439 251 372 245

re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven."

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

receive "tamchhoo" (meaning "binding water") from the hands of the priest, and this they reverently drink. 788

SACRIFICE TO--skoorim cho ches (to perform the sacrificial rites); chhotpa phul ches (to offer up a sacrifice). The taking of life is contrary to the Buddhist religion, live animals are therefore not slaughtered in the ordinary sacrificial manner. If a Buddhist wishes to offer an animal as a sacrifice, he dedicates it to the gods and leaves it at the monastery. This is termed "tshey thar la tạng ches;" all such animals are kept on the monastery lands, doing nothing for the rest of their lives. Another kind of sacrificial offering consists of satoo, dyed blood-red (by means of the juice extracted from the root of a medicinal herb known as "dreemok") and kneaded, and made into a particular shape and crowned with a cone of butter. It is then termed a "chhotpa." 782 779 792

SAIL--The "sails" of the Chángtháng windmills are of wood, scooped out like a ladle, "(they are called hlungsskor-i-SHokpa"). 000

SALUTE TO--joo (or zhoo) zăr ches, or respectfully chhak phul ches. When equals meet, each says "joo" or "joojoo"; if one is of slightly lower rank, he says "joo ley" and receives the answers "joo." "Salami" is the term for a military salute, and also for a guard of honour. Hniemdong táng (or pheeng) ches is to come out to salute, as the Lámás and women and musicians of a village come out to salute any person of rank passing [141] through their village. The Lámás come with their sacred musical instruments, the women with offerings of milk, satoo, ghee, chhang, and incense, and the musicians with drums and clarionets. 554 195 576 792 533

[141]

SASH--palthar (a kind of sash-like belt for holding a sword); palthar táng ches (to wear such a sash); skieyr (kasa kind of waist-band worn by both sexes). The women, in addition to the skieyraks, wear a kind of sash, called a "yok-skieyraks," and from this hangs a collection of ornaments, termed "ldócha," consisting of cowries, needles, pins, a knife, spoon, purse, etc., etc. The brass rosette-like ornament worn on the "yok-skieyraks" is called a "ldólen." 291 301

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the
776 roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of /41/ horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered
● [782] and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent mis-
[784] fortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt'san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and
[782] one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be ex-
776 tremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible.
783 The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782] celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused ooo by all these narratives and pictures--in time Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532] day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "žu, žu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his
[782] existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of incense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

most of them have to sit outside the tent on carpets. 585

In front of each guest there stands a small, low table with colorfully painted carvings. Every guest, after he has sat down with his legs crossed under him, places his own wooden drinking bowl on the little table (with the richer men the little drinking bowl is lined with silver on the inside). The village magistrates with their assistants distribute the flat bread cakes, the number depending upon the rank and standing--seven, five, three, starting with the persons of high rank, and so on down to the guests of lower standing. The latter soon begin to shove, push, and fight for the flat bread cakes, to the amusement of the rich and the satisfied. Now women pour out butter tea from beautiful copper and brass tea pots richly furnished with ornaments embossed in silver. When the guests have refreshed themselves for a while with tea, flat bread cakes, and roasted barley flour, there follows the warm meal, after a short time: rice with mutton and vegetables cooked in a strong spice sauce. Each guest receives a heaped-up plateful of this food. For the most distinguished guests the choicest pieces of meat are picked out of the large meat dish. With it chang is served which the guests consume in great quantities; the pungent spice sauce creates a great thirst. Each of the distinguished guests now also has his greeting cloth placed on the table in front of him; he attaches it with a needle to his cap if there is room there; whatever there is no room for is fastened to the left shoulder.

/93/ All the guests were now able to eat their fill of the plentiful meal, only the places of the five Nyaopas were still empty. Soon after entering the house they had mounted up to the flat roof of the house, led by the sNatridpa, in order to present to the five lamas there the greeting cloths and the gift of a sum of money. The lamas had been there, in front of the small opened house temple, since early morning, engaged in reading mass, saying prayers and formulas for the well-being and good fortune of the betrothed pair. The lamas scarcely took any notice of the Nyaopas; firmly they went on saying their prayers, made food and incense sacrifices in order to call down the blessing of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and tutelary gods upon them. But it was also necessary to allay the anger of the gods and the demons through offerings, formulas of exorcism, magical gestures, swinging of the thunderbolt and of the magic bell, through the music of the drums and the trumpets. In this way all the misfortune that the old devil-tamer had figured out and predicted was to be averted. 585 782

The Nyaopas had to wait for quite a while until they could

585 hand over their gifts. Attentively they watched the activities of the
782 monks clothed in red. Then these interrupted their prayers and formulas, put their hands into the dishes that stood next to them, and scattered barley and rice across the flat roof and over its edge as a food offering to the gods. Crows, magpies, and sparrows came by and picked up the grains. The lamas also threw, amid the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, pyramid-shaped offering cakes (gtor-ma) mixed out of bread dough and butter and decorated with colored ornaments, in a wide arc over the edge of the roof. The red Tsan-demons were invoked and entreated to be satisfied with the offering and to leave the young couple in peace. The offering was soon consumed by dogs and birds. Then a drink offering (gser-skyems) was brought to the gods: beer was poured into a dish from a copper sacrificial tankard and was then sprinkled about in a high arc. Finally the wily household god with the pig's head was still to be appeased and to be exorcized by a food and incense offering and by an exorcizing formula. The conclusion was formed by a concert of all the instruments. From two powerful copper trumpets three meters long, blown by two corpulent lamas and held up in the air by their bell mouths by two monastery students /94/, there came forth deep, ill-sounding tones which swung across the wide valley and, breaking on the opposite rock face, sounded back in a seven-fold echo. With this there mingled the song from the lamas' throats, rough from the beer; now the big drum joined in as well as the cymbals and the trumpets, so that everything fused into a wild music which sounded like the howling of the storm and the roaring of the avalanche.

Old Dud-joms (the devil-tamer) later told the attentively listening farmers at a beer-drinking occasion that the house god with the pig's head had fled with a loud howl at the thunderous roar of the instruments; he had, so said the devil-tamer, heard it himself quite clearly; and then the frightened god had stayed for a whole month in the caves of the Skyinling gorge where his marrow-piercing screams had been heard every night. It was not till they had brought him new food and drink offerings that the lamas were able to persuade the god to return to the house where he could not be dispensed with as a protector after all.

Finally the instruments and the lamas' throats were silent, while the latter were moistened by an ample infusion of chang. The piles of leaves with the dreadful exorcizing formulas were pushed aside. The Nyaopas stepped forth and placed thirteen greeting cloths

before each lama, one of yellow silk, the others of light, gauze-like cotton weave; next to these they put three rupees for each one of them except the head lama who received five. They did not even glance at the greeting cloths; but every one of the "holy men" immediately reached for the silver coins and tested them for their genuineness. The lamas are usually good business people.

Now the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons in the house temple received their part of the wedding offering. According to their rank, each one of the mighty had a number of greeting cloths placed at its feet; offering lamps of brass fuelled with butter, dishes of rice, barley, and beer were placed on the altar in front of the statues. Gautama Buddha, the Great Compassionate Chanrezigs, and the kind Tara, the giver of marital happiness and of the mother's joys were honored by gifts of silk cloths; the other gods and the demons had to be contented with light muslin strips.

/95/ After the priests up above have received their share, the Nyaopas descend to the terrace where the feasting and the drinking are going on in full swing. Between the rows of guests three enormous wedding cakes (97) have been erected of tiles which are made of barley

97. aBran-rgyas, literally "offering cake, food offering"; but of this cake only one "tile" is offered to the gods, the rest is consumed by the participants of the feast.

flour dough mixed with butter and sugar. Next to them stand five huge filled earthen beer jugs. To the sound of three clarinets, one lute, and three kettle drums the Nyaopas now conduct a dance around the cakes and the beer jugs. The musicians here are Bedas (see note 12)). The tune and the rhythm of the music sounds strange to our ears, more like a deafening noise that anything else. But this music drives the Tibetan dancers on, as the most beautiful march or waltz does the German youth. The rhythmical movements, first a slow walk and rocking of the hips, gradually goes over into a livelier tempo, a dance which becomes constantly more rapid and livelier, and which finally turns into wild jumping and hopping. While the legs march and spring to the beat of the music the arms and hands, which hold a long sash, are in constant rocking motion. Some men arise from the row of guests, stand by the dancers, beat out the rhythm with their hands, and by shouts incite the dancers to ever wilder movements which assume more and more the expression of wild abandonment.

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let themselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchod (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mĉod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

527 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries.
●782 Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images of the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and hung K'a-btags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the 3 [illegible].

600 at this wonder of technology.

527 [344] The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following, was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears [563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women [526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 782 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang, the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-kon), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the 527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful, 778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering) the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times. 782 776

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons. 527 789

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the desmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

spirits and the demons (sa-bdag gdon bsgrol)." All hostile demons of 241 789
the earth, of the air, and of the water are adjured not to disturb the field work which now begins, and the water gods are implored to give ample water.

The lamas are paid amply by the farmers for their reading and praying. Whoever is stingy in this case, so they think, will not be able to expect a plentiful harvest either. The poor small-holder who has no money to pay the priest helps himself in a less expensive manner. He digs a few goats' skulls in a corner of his field, or else he strikes his hoe into the ground and lets it stick there; both these operations are supposed to exorcise at least the enraged earth spirits for awhile and to spellbind them, and moreover it does not cost them anything.

After the king's plowing, Namgyal again returned to Kalatse 000
and started upon the spring labors on his fields. What he had experienced in Leh again gave him material for thought for a long time to come.

After the fields near the village and on the summer places (yar- 241
sa) higher up had been taken care of, and the grain stood in green 782
stalks on the field terraces, those farmers who could afford it organized a ceremony of supplication (rim-agro). From three to five lamas read prayers on the threshing floor which lies out on the open fields. Namgyal had three lamas come from Tingmogang to hold the rimdro. On the round threshing floor the red-cowled priests sat down on goat hair carpets which had been spread out for them, and after they had eaten and drunk well, they read /146/ the prescribed prayers to the god of wealth, Dsamdhala (Kubera, Tibetan, rnam-t'os-sras) and to the goddess of wealth (nor-rgyun-lha-ma). The two ceremonies yan-agug and p'ya-agug were likewise performed, because the Dragshos was in the habit of paying well. The lamas assured them on the evening of this day that now the deities that had been invoked were undoubtedly favorably inclined, that the evil spirits had been banished, that his barn and his money bag would be filled for him, and that good luck and success had been accorded to him in all his undertakings.

Finally, a few well-to-do Kalatse farmers also came together 241
in order to undertake a procession (138) around the fields at the recom- 788

138. This is reminiscent of the pilgrimages (processions) which are still customary today in Catholic regions, around the fields. These, likewise, have the purpose of protecting the fields from bad weather, drought, and crop failure, and to secure a good harvest. These processions, in their origin,

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery. 537 776 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 782 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense. 527 782

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha. [589]

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

527 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for
782 those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart. With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

776 host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

[747] 146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. [773] According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

782 The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

refuge, such as the laity predominantly uses; the lamas do not permit 782
laymen to appeal to the Buddhas directly; that is a prerogative reserved exclusively for them.

Here is another part of a prayer which the lamas are in the habit of saying in connection with the formula of refuge. In this case a deified lama is in particular called upon as an intercessor for blessing:

"Oh Lama! (147) Bless us, as you were blessed! Bless us with

147. The appeal is here addressed to a deceased lama who has been declared a saint. The prayers cited here are taken from Waddell's Lamaismus.

the blessing of the tantras (magical formulas): We implore you that you may bless us with Om (the magical syllable in which is contained power to bless)! That is the magical body. We implore you that you may purify /165/ us of the stains of the body! Increase our good fortune and keep away disease of the body! Give us the true, indestructible power of boldily life! We implore you that you may bless us with A (with the power of the magical syllable 'A')! That is the magical speech. Purify us from the stains of speech! Bestow upon us power of speech, the gift of perfect, victorious speech! We implore you that you may bless us with Hum (with the power of the magical syllable 'Hum'), which is secret (magical) thought! Purify us from the stains of thoughts! Give us understanding and a pure heart! Give us the four powers of the heart! We implore you that you may bestow upon us the powers of the true body, speech, and spirit! Om! A! Hum!

"O grant us the blessing which effaces all sins and all the stains of our evil deeds. We implore you that you allay the causes of sorrow, the sinful deeds of earlier existences! Bless us with spiritual guidance! Bless us soon with attainment of Buddha dignity (through attainment of Bodhi, that is to say, illumination)! Free us from deception (Maha) which holds up to our deceived eyes this world of appearances as reality, and in so doing produces the 'thirst' (Sanskrit, tanha) for life. Bless us by leading us on to the right, eightfold path of virtue and denial of the world! Let us serve each other in friendship! Grant us the ability to do good and to release all living creatures from suffering! Bless us with the knowledge of ourselves! Help us to be charitable from the bottom of our hearts! Help us to be as courageous as you are! Bless us through the magical might of the tantras (magical formulas), as you

782 yourself have been blessed by them! -- -- --"

"Cause us, all us animated creatures, to be freed from pleasure, from wrath, and from liking for worldly things, and teach us to recognize fully the true nature of religion! -- -- -- And now, Oh you Buddhas, demons, male as well as female, father, mother! Thou Samantabhadra (original Buddha), thou Supremely Gracious One in the 'Body of the Law,' and you Buddhas in the 'Body of Blessedness,' all you Gracious Ones and all you Wrathful Ones! Also thou, Oh great Lama Magician! All of you whom I have called upon! I now entreat you that you may remove youselves!"

"You spirits of the departed heroes! You witches, you demons, you defenders of the Doctrine! You sacred guardians of the Law! /166/ All you to whom I have here prayed! I entreat you that you may all go away now!"

"Thou mighties king of the gods of wrath! Thou powerful Ishvara (Shiva), and the entire gost of local gods and tutelary deities! All of you, whom I called hither, with your entire following! I entreat you that you may all disappear now! Trashis shok! Let there be blessing upon us! And virtue! Geo!"

The prayer that is here set down and which I reproduce in an abbreviated form, indicates in what direction and in what forms the praying of the Buddhists moves. The layman, and thus also Namgyal, made use of a much shorter version in which, however, the main ideas constantly keep recurring: purification from the sins of earlier existences, release from the sufferings of this life and translation into nirvana, or at least into the "Joyful Paradise of the West (nub-p'yogs-bde-ba-can) (148)." "Let me be reborn in the Paradise of the West!" That is the

[775]

148. The later Mahayana Buddhism introduced another form of release in contradiction to the doctrine of the extinction of being in the nirvana. This took place in the "Paradise of the West" (Tibetan, nub bde-ba-can; Sanskrit, Sukhavati), in the realm of light of the heavenly Buddha Amithaba (Tibetan Od-dpag-med), where the pious people enjoy a conscious life in unspeakable joys as a recompense for their patient striving for release. However, this was considered merely a stage antecedent to the final release in nirvana.

refrain of all prayers said by the pious Tibetans, lamas as well as laymen. The entreaty for dissolution into nirvana recurs alongside of it,

but with less frequency. The notion of a life in the Joyful Paradise has infinitely more attraction for the healthy sense of the Tibetan, as well as of the Chinese, the Japanese and of the Mongolians, than the concept of a nebulous nirvana. 782

Frequently Namgyal prayed to the benign goddess Tara (sgrol-ma), the feminine Bodhisattva, the wife of the great Merciful One, Avalokitesvara (149). One of the prayers addressed to her went as follows:

149. Mahayana Buddhism adopted a great many new ideas with much tolerance and adaptability during the first few centuries of our time in India. Among these belongs the concept of the pairs of deities. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas, and the gods and demons were each given a female complement, a "Feminine Energy" (Sanskrit, Shakti, Tibetan, nus-ma). In this conjunction, special powers were supposed to be bestowed upon the gods. In art, in paintings and bronzes, these divine couples were represented in embrace. It is certain that strongly sexual motifs play their part here, even though the lamas try to deny this. The lamas explain that the union signified symbolically the animation of dead matter through the spirit, and similar things. These ideas constitute a part of the Tantra system which first entered Indian Buddhism during the seventh century A. D. The yogi (ascetic) of the older school of yoga, strove for union with the world soul (yoga) through fasting, asceticism, and meditation. Through becoming one with the world soul they wanted to achieve release from the bonds of earthly existence. Later, in the practice of the Tantra school, the forms became cruder. By means of Tantras (exorcisms) the magician invoked gods and demons with whom he pretended to enter into mystical union, thus appropriating their magical powers by means of which he was able to perform "miracles." [771]

"Hail to thee, Green Tara (150), thou releaser of all living

150. Tara had three phenomenal forms: There is a White Tara, a Green Tara, and a Golden Tara; the Green Tara is the most popular and the most widely worshiped one.

782 creatures! Come down, we pray you, from thy celestial abode! Descend with thy retinue of gods, giants and freers! In all humility we fall down before thy lotus feet! Release us from all distress! Oh sacred Mother!" (At this point the suppliant makes an offering of flowers, incense, rice, or little lamps before the statue or image of Tara.) "We praise thee, Oh exalted and adored Tara, thou who art adored by all kings and princes of the ten points of heaven /literally: "of the compass."--translator./, now, in the present, in the past, and in the future! We implore thee to receive graciously this offering of flowers, incense, lamps, food, music of the cymbols, and other gifts! In all sincerity we implore thee that thou mayst enjoy the food that is here offered to thee in all thy celestial shapes /167/! The most sinful hearts, nay, even the committers of the Ten Sins (151)

[779] 151. The "Ten Sins" correspond to the Ten Commandments of Buddhism, the trespasses of which they constitute: One must not kill any living creatures, one must not steal, not commit any unchaste deeds, not lie, one must not partake of inebriating beverages, and so forth; the "Five Enormous Sins" (sdig-pa t'sad-med lna) are: 1. Patricide; 2. Matricide; 3. The slander of the "Exalted Lama" (the chief Superior Lama); 4. The destruction of the image of the "Blissfully perfect." That is the designation for the (fabricated) six predecessors of Gautama Buddha (bde-bźin bśegs-pa; Sanskrit, Tathagata), who are frequently represented in a group on pictures; 5. To kill one's virtuous abbot.

and of the Five Enormous Sins (t'sad-med lña), will obtain forgiveness and perfection of heart if they repentantly confess their sins to thee. When we (human beings) in the three regions (152) have amassed merit,

[772] 152. The three "Regions of the Heavens" are: 1. the region of desire; foolish desire leads to the formation of shapes and finally of living creatures; 2. the region of the shapes; 3. the formless world.

then we rejoice over this good fortune, all the more when we think of the lot of the animals who are miserably submerged in the sea of suffering. For their sake we are now turning the Wheel of the Law (153). We

153. To "turn the Wheel of the Law" is the Buddhistic expression

788 that when he died, he would be translated to Amitabha's realm of joys, after he had been released from the sufferings of the rebirths through the power of this prayer. Once he asked the hermit Tsetan concerning the significance of this to him totally incomprehensible formula. The hermit explained to him that this prayer was actually addressed to the gracious goddess sGrolma (Tara), the wife (shakti) of the great Merciful One. This goddess was also a mighty redeemer from all woe, and the prayer addressed to her was much more effective still, according to the hermit, than that to her spouse. These "female energies" (Tibetan nusma) were generally powerful beings, said the hermit, whose favor it was important to obtain.

782 The following event showed how the experiences and the anxieties of life often drove Namgyal to prayer. Namgyal was on a journey into the beautiful neighboring country of Kashmir with his uncle Stobsldan. One evening they had set up their tents in the densely forested Sind valley. Suddenly a very violent thunderstorm came upon them, which raged for hours into the early hours of the morning with unabated force. A hurricane-like gale broke loose and in no time at all the pegs of the tent had been torn out of the soft forest ground, and the tent itself was carried off by the gale into the darkness of the wood. Bolts of lightning flashed ceaselessly and the thunder rumbled. Twice lightning struck the tall pines extremely close to them. A cloudburst came down which, in a short period of time, transformed the forest floor into a morass. The two travelers were soaked to the skin and looked for shelter under a broad-limbed fur tree. Close by them the tremendously swollen torrential mountain brook rushed past them with a deafening roar, and it threatened to overflow its banks at any moment. Several avalanches of mud came down from the nearby slopes; the men heard the crashing of uprooted and splintering trees and the rumbling of boulders that were rolling down very close by, and yet they were unable to find a safe standing place in the darkness.

Stobsldan trembled with fear in his whole body. He was continually turning his prayer wheel which he had otherwise not used for a long time, and he prayed one "Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum" after the other. Now he seized his nephew by the arm and said: "Namgyal! Did you see the riders up there in the clouds, the terrible Tsan king and his Wild Hunt? Can't you hear the roaring of the thunder /173/ dragons up there as they are fighting with each other? Now the Lha-adre (demons) who ride on the dragons are also throwing hailstone from their sacks down on us. They will kill us yet! Pray, Namgyal,

pray! You know so many prayers. I have forgotten them all. Perhaps 782
the Terrible Ones will then be appeased."

Then Namgyal said a prayer (157) which his father had once

157. The Tibetan text of the two prayers goes:

1. The one addressed to the 1,000 Buddhas, and so forth:
   mt'o-bai sa-na bya-ra mdzod /
   dma-bai a-na me-ltse mdzod /
   mun-pai nan-la sgron-me sbor /
   dgra-dpun śigs-la bdud-dpun ĉom /
   sam-pa sgrub-la--re-ba skoń /
   t'se-dbań lońs-spyod rgyas-pa daň /
   bkra śis p'un-sum- t'sogs-par agyur.

2. The prayer addressed to the enemy god:
   gaňs daň seń-ge agrogs-pa bźin /
   dgra-lha mi dan ma abral-źig /
   k'yuń daň sog-sgro agrogs-pa bźin /
   dgra-lha mi daň ma abral-źig /
   stag-daň nag-t'sal agrogs-pa bźin /
   dgra-lha mi daň ma abral-źig /
   snya-mo ĉu daň agrogs-pa bźin /
   dgra-lha mi daň ma abral-źig.

With respect to the first verse, second-to-last line, it should be noted: To obtain strength to live (t'se-dbań) and a long life (t'se-rin) is the desire and the endeavor of almost all Buddhists in Tibet, and it stands in crass contradiction to the Buddhistic doctrine according to which life simply means suffering, and is therefore not worth living. The Buddhist prays for a long life; he desires it for himself and for his children and friends; the beggar wishes his benefactor: "t'se-riń-źig, may your life be long!" Parents call their child T'sering or T'sewang (Live-long or Strength-to-live). In theory the Buddhist negates life, but in practice he affirms it in the strongest possible manner.

Gaňs daň seń-ge (second verse, beginning), the "ice lion": compare this with note 64! Concerning the mythical bird Garuda (Tibetan, k'yuń) see note 78! The little fish

•782 (second verse, last line but one) is here, as also frequently in other instances of its occurrence in myth, thought of as a female fish; snya-mo--the syllable "mo" indicates the feminine gender.

taught him. It was addressed to the thousand Buddhas, the entire crew of Bodhisattvas, the tutelary gods (Yidam), and to the country gods:

"Keep guard up above!
Keep guard down on earth!
Kindle light in the dark night!
Vanquish army of foe and fiend!
May hope and wish both be fulfilled!
Ample wealth and strength to live,
And good luck let us receive!"

"Just recite the prayer of the hostile god (dgra-lha), too," said Stobsldan; "I once knew it by heart but have forgotten it since. I have always prayed just the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum; but it is better to pray directly to the gods up above, for then they will spare us perhaps." /The last two quotation marks supplied by the translator./ Then Namgyal prayed:

"Just as the lion stays near the glacier, (see note 64!)
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as the tail to the Garuda,
So enemy god stay joined to us!
Just as tiger always lives near forest,
So enemy god always stay close to us!
Just as little fish always remains in water,
So enemy god never be far away!"

000 Namgyal was often overcome by the desire to withdraw to a hermitage like the recluse and like some others of his acquaintance. To give himself over to pious exercise and meditation so that he would gain a certain claim to liberation. But then his healthy desire to live would again take the upper hand, his joy in working, the happiness he derived from his wife and children, from home and property. And Grandmother Tsering Putrid said that he was now pious enough that his piety /174/ was sufficient for this life and for the one to come; whatever

might still be lacking, the lamas would get for him; after all, they were making enough money on him. 000

It is true that Namgyal donated ample gifts to the neighboring monastery and to the monks who were called in for the household ceremonies. He performed pilgrimages to all the holy places within reach, among others to the miracle-performing image of the Great Merciful One in Trilognath in Lahul; he also planned to perform the great pilgrimage to the sacred glacial mountain Gangsri, as well as that to the sacred lake Manasarowar in faraway Tibet, as soon as his official business matters as magistrate--the post had been transferred to him--would permit. The belief was that by means of such a pilgrimage the sins of all births were to be effaced and the way into Paradise was to be opened all at once. 788

Besides the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, the country gods, the village gods, and the household god were not forgotten either. Even though Namgyal was often beset by doubt as to their existence and their effective power, he nevertheless considered it advisable, if only for the sake of his relatives and the p'as-pun (clan), not to neglect them and to keep them favorably inclined and pacified by occasional offerings. 782

Each morning before sunrise Namgyal would bring the morning offering (ŝa-mĉod) to the entire host of Buddhas and gods. It consisted of barley, rice, beer, water, and also flowers (zas-ĉaṅ-gi p'ud), everything was placed in front of the images of the deities in the house temple in brass bowls. Upon entering the sacred chamber Namgyal would fall down three times in adoration before the image of Avalokitsvara, and then he would present the offering and say a brief prayer. In the evening Namgyal would in like manner bring the evening offering (p'i-mcod).

His poor neighbor, Ngurub, who could not afford such offerings, contented himself with placing a clay bowl with smouldering juniper twigs in it, on the roof of his house, as an "offering to all." He used to say that even so the gods were just as favorable to him and that he was not afflicted with misfortune any more than the rich who presented more ample offerings. On the contrary. The gods loved the spicy, fragrant smoldering juniper above all, /175/ and they looked, so he said, graciously upon this offering. He stood quite well with those up there, he stated.

In the first "ascending" half of each month (yar-ñho) (158), that 784

158. The first "ascending" half of the month" (yar-ñho) is 821

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."

The Buddhism of the Panjáb Himalayas.

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius.* It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish, whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned on the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village, which is turned by water, and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ. "These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter? Each goes to a *lámá* and purchases a slate which he deposits carefully on the village *mani*, and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard." These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Spiti is the only portion of British territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alexander Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes:—

Tract.	Hindú.	Buddhist.	Musalmán.	Others.
Kúlu	58,222	...	221	21
Láhaul	4,804	...	25	22
Spiti	1	2,180	...	...

"In Kúlu, including *wazírí* Rúpi and outer and inner Seorij, the population is Hindú with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Láhaul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in Láhaul has advanced, and Buddhism

* The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde]

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *mánis* and many of the *chhodtans* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

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"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *Lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *mání* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om mání padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *mání* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

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† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the time when the *Lung pashkoi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chanre-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life. Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chàng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrificed *yák*.

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"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

796 241 Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

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* *Srog machhat*, i.e. "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the landholders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti. [782] [541] [688] [184]

The *lámaic* system. 779 792 177

One of the most peculiar features of the *lámaic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámaic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Láha, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhauli language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitlká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadoanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadoanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragoanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di sha nomo hla shuni
Shuni bi sha nomo hla shuni
Sinani bi sha nomo hla shuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་ཀྱི་སྲུལ་ལུ་སྐྱབས་གྱུར།
ཤུ་ཡི་ཤ་ལུ་སྐྱབས་གྱུར།
ཤིང་གི་ཤ་ལུ་སྐྱབས་གྱུར།།

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The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

T D 529

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

T D 174 527 526

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

T D 174 533

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

T D 174

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

539
585
104
177
782
776

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om khroshispar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kèsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response: Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean: — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma zhus* the original rendering was probably *ma zhu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthes*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kèsar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thesthes*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

539
585

II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo. nangmas.

1. phuru yar yzigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends. People of the house say:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

1 [Cf. pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Cf. pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 767 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons arpund it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee [918] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 787 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 782 767 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged.

BHAGWAN SINGH.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

753 healthy places. They also send poison to make men dizzy and sick at the stomach, to make them bleed at the nose and swell in the joints, to make them faint and unable to walk.

753 Whenever one gets over a pass without being afflicted by pass
• 782 poison or without suffering any other injury or disaster, the gods
778 have been good to him. And so he always celebrates the event. He does it in several ways. He builds a pile of stones at the pass—called *obos* in Ladakh and *oris* in Lahul—and each time a traveler passes that way he adds a stone. And so the piles grow into huge collections. Everyone adds to them. A lama of distinction who is carried across a pass in a chair or who rides in state will not go by without having a rock added to the pile. A servant will hand him one from the ground, and he will drop it with his own hand. And he more than likely will add a prayer banner to the rock cairn or stop and burn incense there. The *obos* is a dominant ornament on every pass; and it is found also in other dangerous places such as in the steep and treacherous gorge between La Chulung La Pass and Toche Phirche.

The *obos* usually has streamers of colored cloth tied to the rocks or fastened to sticks that are planted in the rock pile. Prayers are written on these pieces of cloth, and each wind that blows makes the cloth flutter, and each flutter sends the prayer winging to the god or goddess of the pass.

133 The day we left Chakchu we climbed steadily through strange and exciting country, headed for Gongrechen Pass and La Chulung La Pass. There had been no trees north of Baralacha. The whole stretch of land seemed to be desolate and heavily eroded. Now the marks of erosion were lying heavier and heavier on the land. Once these mountains and valleys may have been lush. Now there was only an occasional patch of grass standing like a tiny island in a sea of slate pumice. Many buttes mounted the canyon walls. They were brown, yellow, green, and red; and the highest of them were flecked with snow. There is much sandstone in this stretch of country; the wind had whipped it and the rain had

788
778 As the lamas passed this scroll, I heard them mutter, *"Om Mani*
531 *Padme Hoom."*

788 To the center of the main chapel is an altar covered with bowls
• 782 filled with water and cereals. They are offerings to various gods. For the sake of prosperity, they are supposed always to be filled. I met the lama who attends them, a scraggy, barefooted man, and as he passed the altar I heard him mutter, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

There are thirteen large urns at Hemis, about four or five feet tall and three feet wide. They are filled each year with yak butter by some friend or benefactor, and lighted wicks stand in the middle. Each urn is supposed to burn a year. If the flame goes out, it is bad luck. The lama who had the main urn under his surveillance hovered near, wrapped in a soiled, red robe. As I went by I heard him murmur, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

778 In the center of an adjoining chapel is a life-size statue of
788 Buddha, where the devout bow in worship, murmuring, *"Om Mani Padme Hoom."*

785 Around Buddha are images of lesser deities and of Incarnate Lamas. There is one of Stagtsang Raspa, founder of Hemis. There is one of Mila Repa, the famous Tibetan poet who lived for eighty-three years and attained Buddhahood in that span even though
[754] his early life was sinful. He had learned how to kill people by magic and for a while walked the path of darkness. Then he did penance under a Lobon (Guru) by the name of Marpa. Marpa made him build a house of stone, then tear it down and carry the stones back to where he had found them. He did this over and again, one time building and tearing down a house nine stories high. Marpa beat Mila Repa and gave him impossible chores to do in penance for his sins. Finally Marpa gave him the Initiation and the Teachings, and launched Mila Repa on a life of mortification of the body. He became a hermit in a cave on a high mountain, where he lived on nettles. He renounced food, clothing, and

"If half of the energy spent in building *mani* walls," Rahul said, "was spent in building irrigation projects for the people, Ladakh would prosper."

That was only a part of the plight of Ladakh. I was to learn about the rest when I reached Leh.

Leh is the ancient capital of Ladakh, with narrow, winding streets made for caravans, not cars. It indeed has no vehicle except the jeeps of the Indian Army garrison; and even jeeps have difficulty in squeezing through passageways no wider than mountain trails and lined with houses. The main bazaars are located along an L-shaped street as wide as any in our midwestern towns. They are narrow stalls flush with the street and, like most Far Eastern stores, closed by solid wooden doors sealed with padlocks. The long part of the L runs perhaps two blocks. At the point where the short leg of the L runs to the left, there is a Moslem mosque. When we entered the south gate of the ancient city and swung down the main avenue with my musical mule train, it was late afternoon. A Moslem priest was in the minaret of the mosque calling the faithful to prayer.

la ilaha illa–'llah:
Mohammed rasulu–'llah.
No god but Allah: Mohammed
is the messenger of Allah.

There are not many of the faithful in Ladakh–2,000 out of a total population of 80,000. This is predominantly Buddhist country, and so it has been for centuries. Yet the Moslem mosque is also ancient. Buddhism, more tolerant than the aggressive faith of Islam, has allowed the mosque to thrive through all the vicissitudes of peace and war.

It happened this way. The King of Ladakh was having trouble with the raids of the Tartars from the north. He sent a plea to the Maharajah of Kashmir, a Moslem, for help in expelling the aggressor. The Moslems have had a different relation to India than

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lapping, the warmer the dress. Our chief meals are completed with a hot beverage, such as coffee, but they begin as well as end theirs with their butter-tea. Even the teeth of the carpenter's saw are sloped in the wrong direction compared with ours. If we listen to the cow, we note that she descends the scale as she moos, whereas our western cows moo from below upwards.

With us the protrusion of the tongue is a sign of contempt and derision, and is certainly not regarded as a sign of good breeding! With the Tibetan it is a very polite form of greeting, and its involuntary production often occurs from embarrassment or astonishment. In the west we wait for admittance at the door of the house. In Ladak, the house is penetrated until the desired one is found. When the "Doctor Sahib" was ill in bed not long after our arrival in Ladak, and while we were still learning many new things, the door between his bedroom and the dining-room suddenly opened to admit a not over-cleanly looking individual, with a loudly squawking and protesting cock under his arm, a token of gratitude for the "Doctor Sahib" from one of his patients, but the "Mem Sahib" would have preferred to receive it on his behalf further from the sensitive radius of a badly aching head. When our little girl donned a lamb-skin coat with the white fur outside, it was considered to be a most inside-out proceeding, while in Ladak hats are worn indoors as well as out-of-doors by both sexes. Even their treatment of nature seems to be the wrong way round, for they pray for sun to relieve a drought; but we have only to remember that the water supply and irrigation of the fields are entirely dependent on the summer melting of the winter snows away up on the mountain heights. Although the native doctors get plenty of rewards in both food and cash, it is often made plain to the European doctor that the reward for his services is the merit he wins, no doubt the reason for his leaving his own country and coming to such a far land, unless it be that the unaccount-

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of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

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868 are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one [872] rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

802 But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which 805 calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and 465 the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages 565 need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving ● 782 the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not 614 be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must 776 be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The 778 altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and 782 on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into 792 the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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pieces of silver and gold, and then [illegible]al *Skushog* or great lama comes to dedicate it. The mouth of the vessel is closed and the wall built up over it, then, on top of this is placed another clay vessel whose offerings are renewed annually. On the third day of the new year the lamas are called in, and fresh offerings of rice, wheat and barley are dedicated, while the altar is decked with flags, branches of the pencil cedar, arrows, and horns of wild sheep and goats. Members of the brotherhood have certain duties to perform in connection with the great events of life. After death only a *paspun* may touch the corpse, and in marriages it must be a *paspun* who carries all the bride's belongings and dowry to her new home. Thus the countryside is linked up together in the bonds of a brotherhood based on religion.

118
182
192
614
[764]
[585]

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of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

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is placed at his right hand the holy pot containing the peacock feathers, in front of him the *Dorjhe* (thunderbolt) and bell, and to his left a bowl containing rice. Behind him and to the left is an altar, which is erected in the form of a pyramid by means of steps, on each of which there are a great number of brass bowls containing offerings of butter, rice and water. On the top is an image, most likely that of the tutelary deity of the presiding *Skushog*. In the immediate vicinity of the celebrating lama other priests are present to assist. Behind these on either side sit the more prominent Buddhist laymen of the town, all with heads reverently uncovered. In the court-yard below the verandah, the poorer worshippers are sitting on the ground, with the men generally in front. On inquiry we are told that the celebrating priest has carefully prepared himself for this ceremony. For twenty-four hours he has sat alone in meditation, and, by means of the repetition of many prayers has purified himself from all his sins. While doing this he has the *Tsebum*, or "Vase of Life," in front of him. He suddenly sees the *lha* (the god) enter it and says *Da drub tsar*—"Now it is fulfilled." He then dons his ceremonial hat and comes out to the congregation in order to distribute life to those present. The service begins with the reading of the holy books, by the *Skushog*, who holds in his right hand the bell, which he rings at appropriate moments and in his left the *Dorjhe*, which he turns, whilst the lamas respond every now and again in a sing-song tone of voice, blowing their shawms and clashing their cymbals. The elements are now distributed. In front, walks the *Skushog* with the "Vase of Life" in his hands. Passing along each row, he touches each worshipper's head with it. Behind him follows a priest with the "Wine of Life," of which he pours a small quantity into the cupped hands of each communicant. This is carried reverently to the forehead and to each eye in turn and finally to the mouth to be drunk. The wine is actually only made of water, coloured with saffron

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A similar rise in the social scale occurs with the Spiti magicians, who visit Ladak every summer. These gentlemen are of quite low caste in their own country, but here they are addressed in the language of respect, being known as the *Mani-pas* or "prayer-men." Wearing long red robes, they are, however, distinguished from lamas by the absence of caps, and by long hair plaited up in braids, close to their heads in front and hanging down to their waists behind, giving a curiously effeminate effect to their moustached faces. Their entertainments are closely bound up with religion, in fact their name, the *Mani-pa*, has been given to them on account of this and their constant attention to their hand *manis* or prayer-wheels. When about to give a show, they first arrange an altar in the form of a couple of banners behind a table with sacred lamps and vessels for barley and other offerings. In front of this they dance with swords, at first slowly, then with increasing excitement until the climax is reached by running forward, placing their feet on the ground, raising their bodies, and apparently balancing them on the points of their swords, which are placed in the armpits, abdomen, or even cheeks. This effect is really achieved by sufficiently straightening and stiffening the arms. They also pierce their cheeks, through an old scar, with swords and long needles. Their masterpiece of magic is the breaking of a large stone by one of them on the abdomen of the other. This, of course, is preceded by a lot of incantation and dancing round the latter, who lies on his back on the ground with the small boulder balanced carefully on his abdomen, and, at the right moment, this is made to fall apart into two halves by beating upon it with a big stone. For some days previously the actual boulder is sought for on the desert hillside around with considerable trouble and selected with great care, while the one on whom it is balanced has to hold his breath throughout the performance of the trick. They also beat the abdomen with swords, which process is also rendered harmless by the trick of inflation.

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Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods. But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or, better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance. The services of these respectable women are especially exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal household. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

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often shaded by an umbrella, and at times of drought are taken out for a walk under this to invite the rain.

Passing behind the *Skushog's* seat we come to a better lighted room with more idols all around in their recesses, giving one the impression of an exhibition of different sized dolls houses, in fact our guides take us through a succession of such rooms, all much resembling one another, but each with its own purpose. Thus, in the first of these, is the temple of the god called Avolakita with his eleven heads, surmounted by the head of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light. Round the whole, looking rather like a halo, are 1000 hands, each one of which has in its palm an eye. In order to accommodate his many heads an attic projects up into an inner courtyard of the upper storey. The living representative of this god, the All-merciful One is the Dalai Lama, and the story is rather a pleasing one. Avolakita was about to enter Nirvana, when he happened to look back and notice some poor creature in trouble. Requesting his father, Amitabha, for permission to return and help him, he received this reply, "Yes, go back, but when you get there, you will find that there are many others in trouble. In order to see them all, I give you a thousand eyes, and in order to save them all a thousand hands." This surely savours more of the true Buddhism than the everlasting desire to do actions which shall obtain merit. A friend of ours has pointed out that these heads represent four past races, and that actually there should be twelve heads, three to each race, but the men of Atlantis were so bad that one of their three has been omitted. In front of this image stands a large ewer on a pedestal, which should be filled with butter and in which a burning wick should be floating, but we must admit that on the occasion of our visit, at any rate, it was "the light that failed." We pass into another room containing other images, and whose walls are hung round with many *thangkas*. These are holy banners of various sizes, the smallest about one by two feet, hanging from a stick on which

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346 they can be rolled up, and covered by very thin silk, from the top
532 of which two or three broad ribbons depend. These depict
779 gods or goddesses or the "Wheel of Life," and with their
792 colours mellowed by age are sometimes very beautiful and of real value. From here we pass into another fairly large and well-lighted room with frescoes and holy banners on its walls. This is much used during the first month of the Buddhist year, when special ceremonies, already described, are performed.

792 We go up some rough, ladder-like stairs into the room where
352 the *Skushog* usually sits, his place being marked by cushions and a padded back of gothic shape, and with a row of little Tibetan tables and mats at right-angles, where his attendant lamas sit with him. Near his seat, hanging up on a nail in the pillar, are seen some of his ceremonial hats; thus for riding he has a round most uncomfortable *papier maché* structure, with crown far too small for anyone's head, a fair-sized brim, and a dome with a knob on the top, the prevailing colours being red on an orange background. Even with its strap under the chin, it is difficult to see what possible purchase so small a crown could have on any head in the slightest wind. At its side, a tea cosy-like head-dress, peaking over to one side in dark plum-coloured silk with gold patterns on it, is the one he is said to wear in the mornings and at certain annual festivals. Occasionally a devil-mask is seen hanging up, and in this particular monastery, no doubt reflecting Lobzang's hobby, are occasional cheaply-framed photographs of the Dalai Lama or of other lesser dignitaries.

792 And there is still another room in which there is a large
778 god of the name of "Dukar." He is of such a size that his
532 head projects into a second storey reaching into a little
782 verandah on the roof; the general arrangement is much like that of Avalokita, but his is a malevolent nature, in proof of which one sees the sickles, knives and arrows in his 1000 hands. Under his 1000 feet are many poor creatures, both animal

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and man, and he possesses 1000 heads. Thrown at his feet one notices many cowrie shells and Indian copper coins, the former brought by women to appease him. This image was only made a few years ago, and a special series of services were held to induce the god to enter the image. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting and dancing in the grove of large trees at the side of the monastery, while the actual ritual was performed on the roof, where Meme Lobzang (the *Skushog* being then a tiny baby) presided, assisted by a group of lamas, who helped him to pour the right libations and offerings from the many vessels and bowls before his throne into the large fire which leaped and crackled before him, accompanied by monotonous incantations and chants from a group of seated lamas, and, of course, the monastic band. To this roof we now duly ascended up another very steep ladder, where Meme Lobzang himself extended his hand to help the ladies with true Western gallantry. The view was magnificent, both behind towards the Kardong Pass and before down to Leh, whose trees blotted out the desert below, so that the cultivation and all its little square terraced fields might have extended to the foot of the mighty mountains on the further side of the Indus, all touched with the magic softness of the westering sun.

Retracing our steps down the steep staircases, through the dim passages and rooms, we emerged again into the portico, and viewed the lamas private dwellings ranged on the three sides in front of us as we descended the temple steps. In the left-hand corner was a peculiarly fantastic bit, so delightfully crazy it looked. A short flight of steps led up to two doors, each with an ancient padded curtain to keep out the draught, and a sagging valance above, whilst over one was a quaint little attic with a window of roughly-patterned lattice, its lines so fascinatingly crooked, and enhanced by a small awning, projecting from one side of the attic to shade the roof, on the edge of which was a series of rough window boxes,

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX[1] in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the [illegible]g as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first." 773 822

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities. 773 776 [782]

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[2] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsang-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2
[824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials fro incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma-
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

[2] [See pp. 37-38 -- Analyst] [2] [See pp. 1-8 -- Analyst]

782 826 that such bodily remains as those just mentioned, and also splinters of bones and samples of soil from famous places, are highly valued among the Tibetans. They constitute the contents of talismans, little pouches called srun-ba, "protectors," worn around the neck. The fact that among the masses of the people the belief in the mysterious power of certain parts of the body is still alive, is indicated by an observation which the missionary Heyde made. During [764] the cremation of a corpse he saw a man suddenly leap from the [266] crowd of spectators toward the dead body, rip out one of its eyes, and immediately consume it. Apparently he hoped in this manner to appropriate to himself some of the keen eyesight of the deceased person.

782 We now raise the question as to what is the situation with respect to human sacrifices among the Tibetans. There cannot be any doubt that among the bordering peoples in the western Himalayas, human sacrifices were the order of the day. There the Siva cult has its original home. From Siva and Kali the natives sought the blessings of fertility for their families and their fields, and they believed that it was necessary to reciprocate such divine gifts by means of sacrifices. Aside from the fruits of the field and the livestock, they sacrificed their own children to these gruesome divinities. Such human sacrifices were also customary in the valleys of Lahoul and Kunawar, which have since become Tibetan, and I have collected the reports of the inhabitants of Lahoul concerning this prac- [113] tice. See my hectographed article, "The Mythological and Historical Traditions of the Lahoul People" (Die mythologischen und geschichtlichen Uberlieferungen der Lahouler). In the vicinity of [533] Poo (sPu) in Kunawar I discovered a fairly large document with a collection of Tibetan songs. Concerning these songs it was stated that they were sung, several generations ago, during the ceremonies of human sacrifice. Although I studied these songs for an extended period, I was unable to find any sort of allusion to such sacrifices anywhere (1). As the stories collected in Lahoul report, the human

1. As the Reverend Schnabel writes to me from sPu, the following verse is said in sPu with reference to the human sacrifices: /Tara/ is speaking:

First, when I came hither from India,
I received /each year/ a three-year-old cow and an eight-year-old child.

According to this it certainly looks as though this hideous practice was first brought from India to the border Tibetans.

sacrifice was, in later times, probably during the nineteenth century, replaced by an animal sacrifice. If, therefore, human sacrifices once took place in Tibet, these were probably transformed into animal sacrifices at a much earlier time. Animal sacrifices, on the other hand, /27/ are still performed to this day in the area of the West Tibetan kingdom before altars of the pre-Buddhistic religion, which are called ha-tho. At this sacrifice the heart of the still living animal (ram) is ripped out by the priest with his bare hand. Such altars are nowadays mostly found in the neighborhood of villages. They are one or two meters high, provided at the top with a bundle of juniper twigs, and down below they are surrounded with horns of wild sheep and ibexes.

A more harmless offering is represented in a rock drawing near Ke-sar-gyi-sga. There we see a Nyo-pa, "bride purchaser" or "bride beggar" (1) who is carrying a sword by his side and in his

1. He is probably the leader of the Nyopa. For in the picture in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, p. 131, only the leader has an arrow in his hand.

right hand an arrow decorated with a little flag, and is standing in front of three beer jugs. Each jug is provided with little patties of butter along the edge, which signify that the beer is offered to a higher being (it might, it is true, also be a person to whom high respect is paid). The fact that the gods were actually presented with offerings of beer can be seen from No. 5 of the Trinklieder von Khalatse /Drinking Songs of Khalatse/.[1]

It is highly probable that dances were also performed at these ancient places of worship, for even today each festival of the ancient religion is accompanied by dancing. Usually the boys and the girls dance separately among themselves by pacing around an open wood fire in a long procession. It is seldom that the rows of boys and girls, arranged in lines opposite each other, move toward each other. In the dances of the girls, peculiar stiff movements of the hands are noticeable, which alternate with the bending of the upper part of the body toward the ground. As I was told by the natives, these movements are to be interpreted as gathering flowers and presenting them to the gods in heaven. These dances performed by the laity should probably be distinguished from the dances of the Buddhistic priests and from those executed by the migrant jugglers.

To the question as to what the people prayed for at the cult places of the ancient religion, we receive one answer from the

[See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. --Analyst]

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113]

2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

782 831 532 842

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children.

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Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

Table II [1]

531 773 Number 6. The "wishing cow of Paradise" (aDod-ajoi-ba). (Compare photograph.) Underneath it a musk animal. The latter drawing was later destroyed.

Number 7 and 10. The "big old ibex." A personification of the cliff. Above number 7 a hallowed offering is drawn.

Number 8. Two Garuda (Khyun), so-called "ear-garuda."

Number 9. The horned Agu Pa-san-ldan-ru-skyes.

Number 12. The same Agu in battle.

Number 11. Two water snakes (Naga).

531 771 " 13. Priests of the old religion. So-called On-po.

531 535 " 14 and 16. Religious dances. The dancers stand in single file, one behind the other. In number 16 the leaders stand outside the line.

782 585 531 " 15. Beer offerings of the bride purchasers. Three jugs of beer, decorated around the edge at the top with little pieces of butter (ka-lcor). The leader of the bride purchasers is holding in his right hand an arrow decorated with little flags.

Table III [2]

531 782 778 Number 17, 18. Hallowed offerings, flour and cake.

" 19. A small altar of the old religion.

" 20. Probably a dos-mo. (Compare photograph.)

" 21. Hallowed offering of flowers or twigs of juniper.

" 22. The ear-garuda (rNa-khyun), in front of it a fox, behind it illegible letters.

1 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 99, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 798

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pl. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke --111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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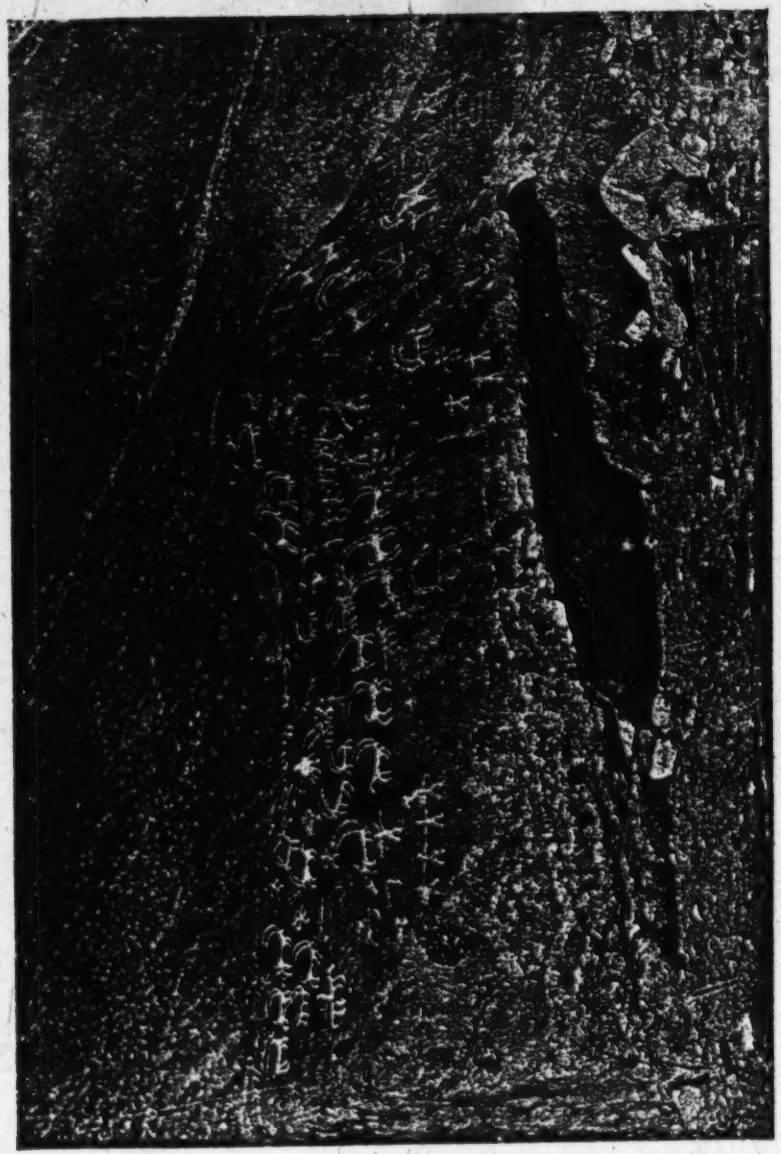

Nr. 11. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[83]

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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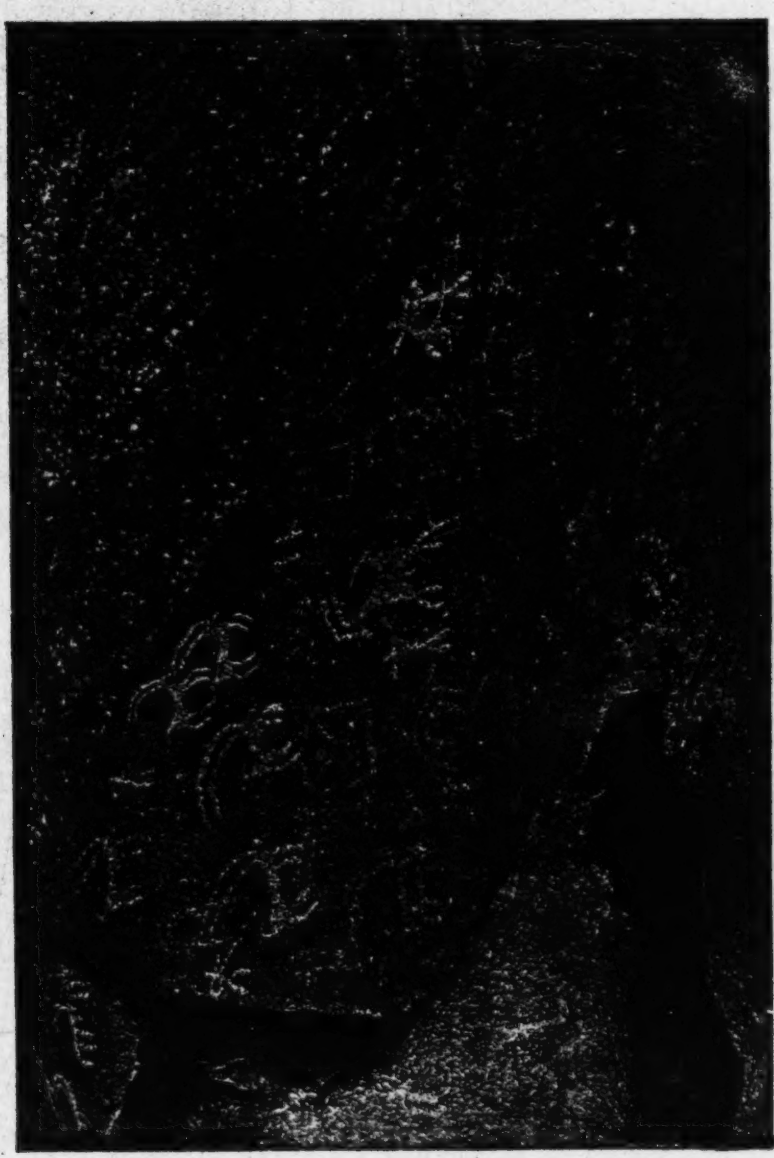

Nr. 14. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-san* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

[797]

The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-san* offering is transferred to the

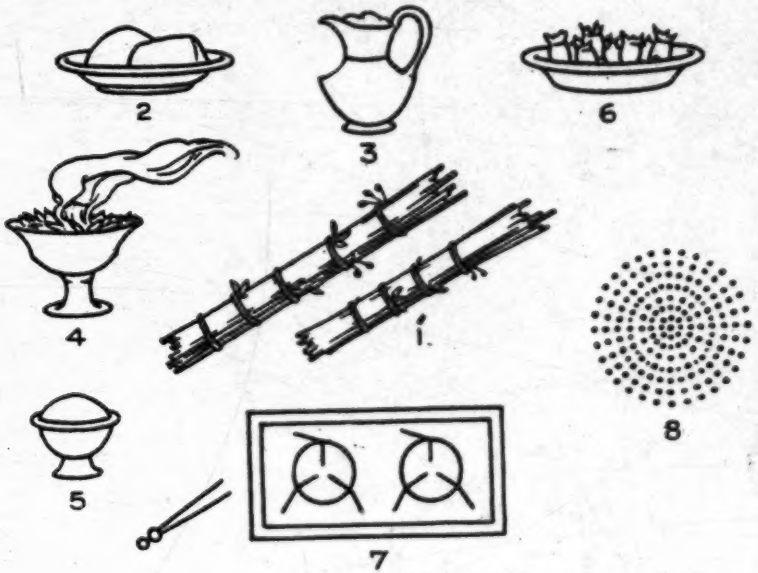

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-san*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rui-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ku*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rui-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ku* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

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When all the male members of the community have assembled at a given spot, their lighted *haldras* are all piled in a heap to form a large bonfire. Whilst this is burning, the *rui-gen* offering is produced, and pills of this are scattered towards a sacred juniper tree, whilst the remainder of this offering is thrown to the blacksmiths engaged to beat the village drums. This done, the males, each seizing a burning stick from the bonfire, form themselves into a circle. Holding the blazing sticks, one of the number beating time the while, says in a sing-song voice: *Hai sha mūi sha* (a magic spell with no meaning that I can discover), whereupon all repeat the spell in unison.

Old man (in the crowd): *Kar-dang rana ba-ua*—(a curse on a Rāṇa of Kardang who in ancient times oppressed the Lahulis).[1]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Gus-pa rana sho sha (a curse on a Rāṇa at Gus).[2]

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Chū-mig' cham chim (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Old Man: Lang-ma pan-pūn (a spell).

Crowd: Hai sha.

Then in great excitement, with drums beating, and shrill whistling with fingers placed to the mouth, all the lighted sticks are thrown hither and thither. The cup which contained the *rui-gen* offering is now filled with snow. This is carried in the hand and deposited on a shelf in one of the apartments of the house. When the snow in this receptacle melts, the water is poured into the family ration of soup or tea.

The same night on which the *haldra* ceremony is held, the first circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions is made on the wall of each house. For each day a similar circle is described until the seventh day. This is called *Shis-kar-appa* (8).

Second day (Shīl).—At daybreak, a woman in the house must rise and make a circle of butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the *shis-kar-appa*. Whilst performing this duty she says: *Chod, chod* (Eat this offering), addressing the god of the New Year. She next sprinkles the *kal-chor* offering with a small branch of juniper. Then, offering the following prayer, she continues making her butter-and-flour thumb impressions on the wall:—

Rgyal-po Bal-la-raza
(Oh King Balaraza)

Ser-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Ser* = T. *ser*, gold)
(Grant me a pillar of gold);

Mul-gi ka-ī bara chod gyō (*Mul* = T. *dngul*, silver)
(Grant me a pillar of silver);

Yu-i ka-ī dung-ma bara chod gyō (*yu-i* = T. *gyu*, turquoise: *dung-ma* = T. *gdung-ma*, beam—H. L. S.)
(Grant me a cross-beam of turquoise);

[1] Probably means "Shoot (*ba-ua*) the rāṇa of Kardang."
[2] Probably means "May the rāṇa of Gus be destroyed."—H. L. S.

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Hara mu-tig' bara chod gyŏ
(Grant me a pearl necklace);

Dukah po-shel-gyi bara chod gyŏ
(Grant me two large beads of coral);

Rin-po-che-i sna-tshogs-gi bara chod gyŏ
(Grant me various kinds of precious jewels);

Lu-gu dro-mar ya-so chan-gyi bara chod gyŏ
(Grant me a sheep with red and yellow on the breast, and black and white on its hind-quarters, and one with upper teeth);

Gi-ling sta-i bara chod gyŏ
(Grant me a unicorn).

Third day (*Tshod*).—At daybreak, two men from each house go to the village sacred tree taking Flour and water offering (*Drang-rgyas*), *Kal-chor*, Butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gyen-tsi*) about 3 inches long, *Sang-shū*.

When offering these they say:—

Chod, chod yul-la dai-ling dai-dai kyen (Oh worshipful Dayling god);
Innog' sol-tang ra-zhi (May the offering never be exhausted);

Hing zhog' za-tang tung tang ra-zhi (May we always have food and drink);
Lo lag' zhi panta bir-zhi (May we have a happy and prosperous year);

Nad' don tsa-i gulai kuat-chi wast-i-ra (May disease of every kind be abolished).
Chod (saying this, parts of offering are scattered).

Chod, chod yul-la dai dai kor-zhig' yor-shig' kyen (Oh worshipful god and your hosts):
A-kung-chi so-a-ti bon-cha tad-da (May not a single tooth fall out of my mouth);

Bu shag'-chi kra ti-ki bon-cha tad-da (May not a hair fall from my head);
Bang dog' tsŏ-ag'-ti zuk dai tad-da (May not a thorn pierce my foot).

Ma shes ma rig' tham-chad zod-par sol-tira (If I have erred unwittingly by failing to pay you reverence, please forgive).
Chod (saying this, more offerings are scattered).

Fourth Day (*Bang-mur*).—A little before sunset, all the villagers assemble before a neighbour's house, each householder carrying *mur* (a vessel containing sprouts of juniper, and balls of butter the size of a tennis ball), and a plate holding five measures of roasted barley (*buk*), also a butter effigy of a ram (*mar-gi-ra-bo*). Whilst offering these the prayer already quoted is offered to the village god. The remainder of the roasted barley and butter are then mixed together in a large vessel, and divided amongst the villagers who take it to their homes.

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When darkness falls, all make their way to another house in the village, each householder carrying a pot of beer, offering part to the village god, and sharing the remainder with his neighbours. The men folk then join in chorus singing their New Year Festival hymn addressed to the local god. Translated into English, it runs thus :—

796
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A.

"In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of gold was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the celestial regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Ō-pam* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a silver throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the central regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The god *Tsan Rgyab-ri* sat there.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a throne of turquoise was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The god of the nether regions was seated there,
So says the Lord of the gods.
The serpent demon *Hlu-bu-nor* sat there. (*Hlu*, T. *Klu*. S. *nāga*.—H. L. S.)
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

In ancient times the age was propitious,
When a conch shell throne was erected ;
Someone was seated on that throne ;
Who was seated there ?
The Ruler of men was seated there.
So says the Lord of the gods.
Blessed is he who sits in the midst of the throne.

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796 At the summit of the celestial mountains,
533 There the broom has grown.
There the ravens settle.
May we prosper, may we prosper."

796 On the fifth and sixth days of the New Year Festival, no special ceremony is performed, except that the flour-and-water thumb impression is made on the wall by the housewife.

782 On the seventh day the ceremony of ringing out the New Year Festival is performed. This ceremony is called *Appa Bar-cha*. About 10 o'clock in the morning, two women from the house, walking slowly, approach the flour-and-butter thumb impressions on the wall (these being held to be the temporary residence of the god of the New Year). One carries *Sang-shū* and the *Kal-chor*, the other, a vessel with flour mixed in water. When before the god, the woman carrying the flour and water dips a branch of juniper tree in the mixture, and makes three vertical marks over the circles, and then three similar marks on the outside lintel of each door of the house. On the outermost door (the front door as we would say) the *Kal-chor* is sprinkled and offered simultaneously with this prayer :—

D.

" About this time you came to us.
Until you arrive again at this time next year,
May neither disease nor fever overtake us."

With this prayer, the god is dismissed. Just before sunset of this last day of the New Year festivities, each householder takes three large unleavened breads, about the size of a dinner plate, to a neighbour's house. One of the breads has a representation of a sun and a moon in flour. These breads and a *drang-ryyas* are then offered to the village god, portions of it being consumed by the people.

Interchange of feasts goes on amongst the villages from the 12th month, and the 10th–15th day, until the 1st month and the 3rd–5th day of the Buddhist year. Only when this ceremony of *Appa Bar-cha* has been performed, do the villagers have free intercourse with one another in the matter of giving and returning feasts. A feast during the New Year celebrations consists of :—in the morning, three buckwheat cakes, three cakes of leavened wheat flour and butter, and tea per head ; and in the evening, meat, rice, vegetables, beer and ardent spirits.

Immediately following the New Year celebrations, a social function called *Go-tsi* is celebrated (1st month, 3rd to 5th day). The ceremony of *Thars* (Saved) is then performed.

At sunrise the villagers take a *drang-ryyas* with an effigy of a ram upon it, and sacrifice it to the village god. Then follows another offering of *Mar-gyen-tsi* (a ram made of butter), a pot of beer (*kal-chor*) and also the *Sang-shū* (which is an inseparable part of the sacrifices offered in this country). To offer these the various households have each to supply one plate of barley flour, and 2 oz. of butter. When the ceremony of *Thars* is thus completed, the people are allowed access to the houses of other villagers where a similar ceremony has already been performed.

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796 At dusk a large party of youths and young women goes in a body to a neighbouring village, and after copious draughts of beer and ardent spirits, the assembled crowd dividing into two parties, compete with each other in singing songs, the winners being those who can remember the words of the entire song. That same night the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*) with a companion (*Hla-u-pa*), having adorned themselves with appropriate festal robes, remain all night in front of a fire lit in the village temple. Next morning the father of a male born in the old year has to give a feast to the community. Then five or seven men and one woman, suitably attired, go to an appointed place where the rest of the villagers have already assembled. There the parents of male children born in the previous year have each to distribute to the community at least nine measures of barley flour, and 40 pounds of beer. An additional gift of one bottle of ardent spirits has to be presented to the *Hla-bdag-pa* and *Hla-u-pa*. All then return to their houses, where their share of the food is consumed.

796 Before emerging from their houses to complete the ceremony of *Go-tsi*, a sacrifice of meat
● 787 and salt (*tshā-sha*), bread (*ta-yir*), biscuit (*khur-ra*), roasted barley flour (*tsam-pa*), entrails of a sheep (*gyu-ma*), wheat flour and butter (*pai-mar*) is made. This done, one woman is deputed to carry the *kul-chor*, whilst three men carrying a skin of a sheep dressed to represent a real sheep (*kul-tsi*), a bundle of sticks (*kaldru*) and a *drung-syyas* between them, walk through the village saying, "*Hai shara-gai ri-lo*" (a boy has been born).

In the meantime the *Hla-bdag-pa*, with his escort, carrying a *kaldru* and *kul-chor* appears on the scene, when roasted barley and balls of butter (*mur*), *kul-chor*, and *drung-syyas* are sacrificed. Then follows the ceremony of shooting arrows at the *kul-tsi*. The skin of a sheep is stuffed with juniper, and small pieces of sticks with flowers attached are stuck in the skin to represent a live sheep. The *Hla-bdag-pa*, dressed in black, shoots seven, nine, or eleven, times with a set of four arrows, and all dance to the accompaniment of the village drums beaten by the blacksmiths.

At the festival of *Ak-ring* (1st month, 18th–19th day) a sheep is sacrificed by the usual method in Lahul, of tearing out its heart and casting it before the local deity, and much drinking
796 of beer and ardent spirits is indulged in. In the evening is a function called *La-martz*, when
533 the males of the village join in singing the following song :—

E.

"They say,
This year will be a prosperous one,
On the plain a fire is burning ;
There is a yak on the plain,
There is a *dzo-po* on the plain.
There is a ram on the plain.
There is a house on the plain.
There is a man carrying a load of barley until a sore breaks out on his back.
There is a man cutting meat until the wood block wears out.
There is man ladling out melted butter until the iron ladle wears out.
With snow on his head to the height of one cubit, a man goes into his house."

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FIG. 2.—OFFERINGS FOR THE *Go-toi* FESTIVAL.

1a AND 1b. *Drung-rgyas*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH; 2. *Haldru*, JUNIPER STICKS; 3. *Kul-toi*, SHEEPSKIN TARGET; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 5. *Poi-mar*, WHEAT, FLOUR AND BUTTER; 6. *Tshä-sha*, PIECE OF MEAT AND SALT; 7. *Mur*, BALLS OF BUTTER ON ROASTED BARLEY GRAIN; 8. *Ta-gir*, BREAD; 9. *Gyu-ma*, INTESTINES OF A SHEEP; 10. *Tsam-pa*, BARLEY FLOUR; 11. *Khur-ru*, BUTTER-AND-FLOUR CAKES; 13. *Mar-gyan-toi*, OFFERING OF AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 14. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER; 15. *Drung-rgyas-ra-lo-chan*, BUTTER-AND-DOUGH OFFERING SURMOUNTED BY AN EFFIGY OF A RAM (BUTTER); 16. *Sang-sha*, INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 17. *Pom*, A BUCKWHEAT CAKE TARGET TO REPRESENT SHEEP.

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796 After another bout of beer drinking, the youths career round the village, climbing the roofs of the houses and calling *Tsa-tsai-mo-la* down the chimneys. The male members who happen to be in the houses at the time, emerge carrying a plate of flour, and join the rest of the revellers. The flour thus collected is given to the children, who make dough effigies of a ram and present each householder with one. In return for this, the children receive flour and butter with which to hold feasts amongst themselves.

796 The next day the ceremony of *Buns* takes place. Each woman in the village then takes a
787 cake of buckwheat, and *mur* (sprouts of juniper and balls of butter) to a neighbour's house, where part is sacrificed and part consumed by the assembled people. On this occasion, when the food is being distributed, the children scramble for pieces of food thrown to them.

796 The festival of *Gum-tso* which occurs during the 1st month and the 18th–19th day, is the appointed time for arrow-shooting competitions. The target is made of a huge buckwheat cake 1½ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 4 inches thick, with horns and tail to represent a sheep. This is divided into three sections. All then shoot their arrows simultaneously. If an archer hits the left-hand section, he receives that part as his share, similarly the middle section. The right-hand section of the cake whether hit by an arrow or not, is divided amongst all the archers.

The festival of the She-Demon's New Year (*Lai-tsog'*) in the 1st month and the 27th day, is marked by an orgy of beer drinking, and the burning of straw in front of the houses. The duty of lighting the straw devolves upon the womenfolk, who sing a maledictory song to the she-
796 demon, whose physical proportions are supposed to be anything but flattering. They sing :—
533

F.

"The *Lai-tsog'* she-demon *Drang-gog-ma* who has breasts reaching to her waist, and hair reaching to her heels,
Go away.
Oh, *Drai-ni-rag'-sa-ni*, make an offering lamp of dung, with a wick of a loin cloth.
Burn urine for oil.
Ride astraddle on the beam of a weaving loom, using a besom as a whip.
With one canine tooth growing upwards, and one downwards, depart without even looking back."

796 The festivities during the first month of the Buddhist calendar terminate with the ceremony of *Dam-pa-rig'*, at which a full choral service is held for two days by the priests, followed in the evening and well through the night by heavy drinking and village dancing. For the sustenance of the entire community, each householder must supply 40 lb. of barley, one measure of rice, one measure of barley flour, and ½ lb. of butter. When these are all collected, the villagers pool the rations amongst themselves, and feast for seven days consecutively.

Five festivals occur during the second month of the Buddhist year. They are *Ringo*, *La-ma Chod-pa*, *Tsu-go-ki-la*, *Dun-chang*, and *Chai-dro-li*.

796 *Ringo* (2nd month).—Three households have to provide the beer for the community, and
787 also offer a *Drang-rgyas* to the local god, after which all enjoy themselves by drinking and gambling. Two or three days having elapsed a similar function is held.

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On the 15th day of the 2nd month another festival called *Tsu-go-ki-la* follows, during which the usual orgy of drinking and dancing goes on. This time each household has to provide 10 lb. of barley which is brewed into beer for the village carousals. At the *Dun-chang* festival a sheep is sacrificed in the usual way customary in Lahul, whilst the *la-ma-chod-pa* festivities are introduced by a choral religious service, when each house provides 10 lb. of rice, 4 oz. of butter, and 1 lb. of barley, the total amount of food, etc., being consumed by the villagers over a period of three days.

The *Chai-dro-li* festival marks the time when the low-class blacksmiths circumambulate the prayer-walls and *chorten* (cenotaphs of departed saints) beating their drums the while. This

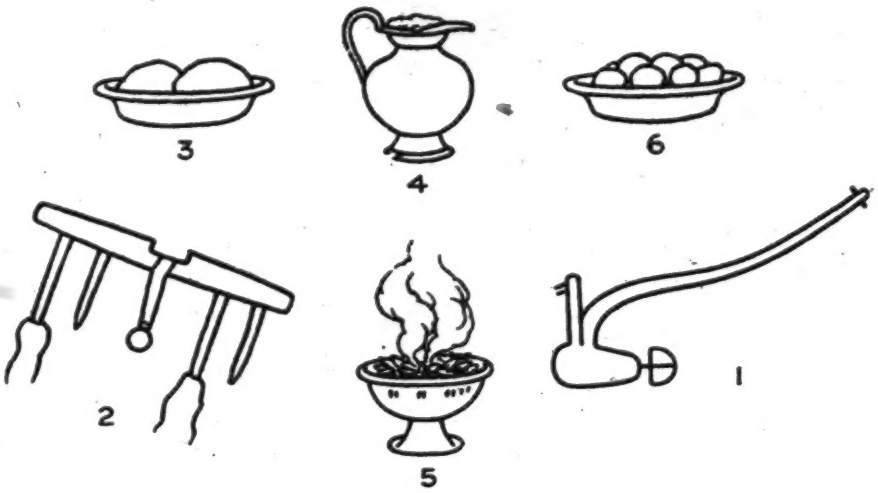

FIG. 3.—OFFERINGS AT THE SEASON OF PLOUGHING.

1. *Shol*, A PLOUGH; 2. *Nya-shing*, A YOKE FOR THE OXEN; 3. *Mar-zen*, A FLOUR-AND-BUTTER OFFERING; 4. *Kal-chor*, POT OF BEER OFFERING; 5. *Sang-shé*, AN INCENSE OFFERING OF JUNIPER; 6. *La-shen*, BUCKWHEAT CAKE OFFERING.

religious exercise completed, they collect alms from the villagers, each house providing as alms, one large plate of barley flour, one of wheat flour, one of buckwheat flour, and a pot of beer. It is also customary for each person to place a *mar-zen* (butter and flour) or buckwheat flour on a slab of stone for the ravens to eat.

During the third month the festival of *Bri-shu* is held, when all the cattle which have been fed through the winter for neighbours unable owing to scarcity of fodder to feed their own animals, have to be returned to their original owners. The usual quantity of beer is again collected for a communal beer-drinking feast, and an offering of *drung-rgyas* made to the local god. It is at this time too, that the communal shepherds are chosen, and the "Masters-of-ceremony" for the ensuing year are elected.

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796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
● 782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-shen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-shen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Ma-ṇi Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
787 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is
[776] thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-sa-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-rgyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
787 the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

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They are now fat like balls of butter,
In winter they will shrivel with leanness.
Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The youths become stout-hearted,
The maidens' countenances become like mirrors.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

In the morning the *dzo-mo* goes to the hills,
In the evening she returns to be milked.
Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

The threshing floor pole is propitious like silver,
The barley is heaped on the outer edge of the threshing floor.
Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

When the straw is trodden out fine we are pleased,
When it is wet, it goes hard with the cattle.
Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"

From early morning you endure hardship,
Try hard, and continue to go round (the threshing floor).
Refrain : "*Tulu-ja, tulu-ja.*"

If you go to the top of the hills you reach a glacier,
If you go to the turf, you eat summer flowers.

Then having released the oxen from the threshing floor, and patting them on their backs with a besom, the peasant addresses them thus :—

H.

"May the grain increase ;
As the oxens' horns become like cornelians,
So may the grain increase.
As your ears become like copper, so may the grain increase.
As your noses become like pipes of copper, so may the grain increase.
As your eyes become like the vowel "O," so may the grain increase.
As your lungs become like glistening white glaciers, so may the grain increase.
As your livers become reddish brown, to may the grain increase.
As your intestines become like a zig-zag path, so may the grain increase.

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This ends the social functions for the year. They are observed punctiliously, and the method of celebrating them varies not at all, for the people's slavish adherence to the proper

533

Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li labe sang la yang la ba sang ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.
Chophe u-chophala yang rigni ya-la-lo
Bi zai ru ri zai ru
Shing bar takai la yang dongbo ya-la-lo
Dai ru trung dai ru trung
Jar ya-rag' la yang nak shang ya-la-lo
Dai ru bop dai ru bop
Gi li labe sang la yang la ba sing ya-la-lo
Trashis zod trashis zod.

● 787

Note D.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tan sung tai lag' dog' chi
Or shet tai lag' as tog'
Nad tsod ma ai gag' bu.

533

Note E.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Tan tsai ma ma
Tan tsai ma ma
Trashis ru dang lowi shang
Trashis tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Tan tsai ma ma
Tan tsai ma ma
Zin zin ru dang lowi shang
Zin zin tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Zhong zhong ru dang lowi shang
Zhong zhong tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gir gir ru dang lowi shang
Gir gir tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Gling ru dang lowi shang
Gling tang dog' mai jow jag' lowi shang
Breng breng tsi gyal cha stog' wans gel kak lowi shang
Dampa gro gyastog' sha tup chag' lowi shang
Chag' dad gro gyastog' mar yga chag' lowi shang
Pu shag' krui mun ang ling goi tas lowi shang.

Note F.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Lai tsog' ma drung gog ma
Bai bai biang nang bai ma ral
Bal nang tai shyo
Drui ni rag' as ni bolo gyongbo
Nang lai shattai sar nang jar
Ki mar mai nang kri chai
Shrungs nang shir pet gi stal
Chag' dang gang chai wa as rag'
Gang chaiwa nam dog' korok
Ma ongo ka tai shyo
Ki tá ni li tsai ni.

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Note G.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Lang chan tanna hiri do
Hiri do hiri do
Dzo-poi rucho dang gi rucho
[Note: A "dzo" is a cross between a cow and a yak. A dzo-mó is the female animal.]
Dzo-moi ngama dar gi yall dar
Hiri do hiri do
Krondri da krondri da mar krondri
Krondri da krondri bar krondri
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Kyoptang dar ryyu naro
Nachung mai long yallo
Hiri do hiri do
Ngaro dzomo ri show ma
Phdro dzomo jon show ma
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Ül tag' trashi gormow
Sarmo nai zil zillo
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Tül tül tül na angu
Jib jib jib na ngalla
Hollo hollo, hollo hollo
Nam langa gi ma turi ku ku woh
Ta ratana hiri do
Tulu ja tulu ja
Bi stot touna gang stot
Banga yuri manag' don kun gün

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Note H.—Original version. (Bunan dialect.)

Hong bo ryakang ka ro'
Chang gi ryacho-i ka mai hong bo ro
Na wa zanga ki pa tap ka nai hong bo ro
Na zanga mai pur-i ka nai hong bo ro
Mig' ga kai ka nai hong bo ro
Hlo-wa gang ri karpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Chimbu ba ju zha mukpo-i ka nai hong bo ro
Gyuma kyag' kam kyag' kam ka nai hong bo ro

SACRIFICES IN WESTERN TIBET. *By the Rev.*

782 771 609 **97** Propitiatory sacrifices have always held an important place in the religion practised in Tibet. Human sacrifices were not unknown in ancient times in this country, and even to-day stories are told of foundation sacrifices of humans and animals to ensure buildings and town walls from the attacks of evil spirits.

It is, however, difficult to obtain detailed accounts of this practice, as the Tibetans are very reluctant to relate instances of this to Europeans.

782 173 [14] Two stories of the last human sacrifices in Lahoul are extant to this day, and as they agree in every detail with those related by Dr. Francke in his 'History of Western Tibet,' I shall make a somewhat lengthy quotation from this writer's account of them.

[241] "A man had to be killed every year for the "benefit of the fields of the community. The "peasants were to offer the victim in turns. "(They probably kept slaves, and these were "generally killed). One year it was a poor "widow's turn, and as she had no servants it "was understood that her only son was to be "sacrificed. Whilst she was weeping sadly "about this, a wandering hermit came to her "house and offered to die in the place of her "son, if she would feed him well until the day "of execution. The widow gladly accepted the "offer, and on the appointed day the hermit "was led with much noise before the wooden "idol of the god of the fields. When the "executioner walked up with his axe to the "hermit, the latter said: 'Wait a little, dear "'friend; lend me your axe, and let me see if "'the god really wants to take my life.' Then "he stepped with the axe before the idol and "said: 'Well, Lord of the Fields, if you really "'want my life, take it please; if not, I shall "'take yours.' As there was no reply, the "hermit raised his axe and cut the idol in "pieces. Then he threw the fragments into
782 "the river, and everybody went home."

173 114 The other story related to me concerning the last human sacrifice in Manchat (and which is supported by Dr. Francke's account

Walter Asboe.

782 of it) was that of a woman who was buried alive.

173 114 Local tradition has it that she pronounced a curse upon the land with her last breath. She prayed that none of the inhabitants should grow older than she was at her death; and the people still believe that her curse is being carried into effect nowadays.

782 In modern times human sacrifices are substituted by animal ones, and in the various valleys of Western Tibet the sacrificial customs, though slightly different in detail, are at any rate uniform in principle.

The method of sacrificing animals is that of making a deep incision sufficiently large to permit the introduction of the hand, and then tearing the heart out, after which that organ is offered to the local deity.

In Kyelang one sheep is sacrified in this way during the spring of each year, each household taking its turn in providing the sacrificial sheep.

At Chugtra, a neighbouring village, the local god is regarded with great fear, and it is thought that no less than twelve sheep, not to mention large quantities of flour and butter, must be offered to this ferocious deity annually.

Eight of these sheep, chosen from the communal flock, are slaughtered simultaneously; their hearts being torn out, and certain savoury parts of the carcases offered to the idol, whilst part is consumed by the people. The remaining four sheep are similarly sacrificed at intervals of one month.

[231] It is also customary, when slaughtering animals for food, to tear the hearts out of them.

At Yanaped, a yak is sacrified triennially. It is first well fed, and then on the day of sacrifice the beast is heavily loaded and driven hither and thither by the people, who abuse it atrociously by throwing stones, clods of earth, or anything they can lay their hands on, until it is reduced to a state of utter exhaustion. It is then seized, and its heart having been torn out, is immolated.

Sheep are frequently similarly dealt with, a plank of wood being securely tied on its back,

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782 and finally sacrificed. At a marriage conducted
585 on a large scale, a sheep is thrown headlong from
782 the roof of a house, and its heart torn out.
Similarly, when sickness occurs threatening the
755 life of the patient, a sheep has to be sacrificed.
782 The animal is covered with a shroud to impersonate a corpse. In the meanwhile, the relations of the sick man call him repeatedly by name, and to the accompaniment of loud lamentations the sheep is led to the cremating ground and burnt alive.

000 Though in theory the taking of life and the

[76]

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Though in theory the taking of life and the
779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

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796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
262 holder says:

> "Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)."[2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

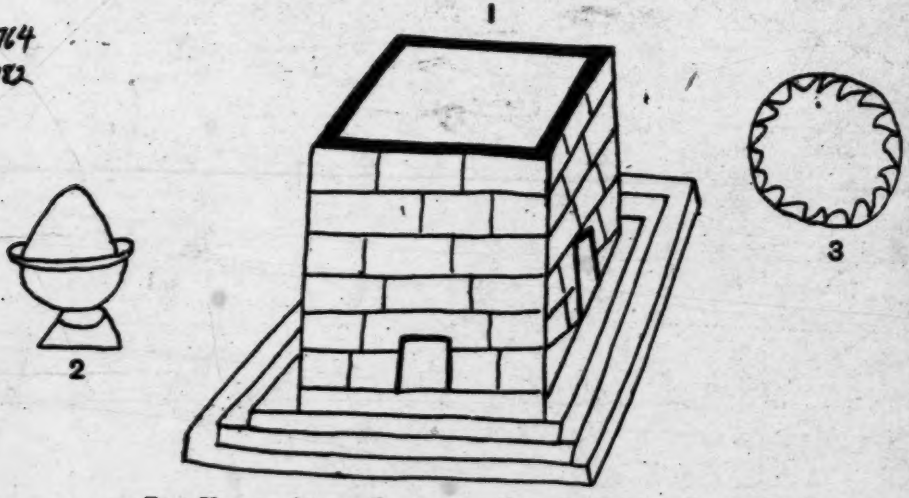
From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect*:

Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

796 On the 1st day of the 11th month, each household makes
782 a dough effigy of an ibex (*Skyin*), a cake of unleavened bread with its edges turned up and inwards (*Pe-Rak*), parched barley flour placed in a wooden flour bowl (*Pe-Pud*) is prepared. A vessel of beer (*Nang-mChod*) and one of water (*Chu-Pud*) are also placed alongside of all these offerings, the whole being laid on a shelf in the apartment for three days.

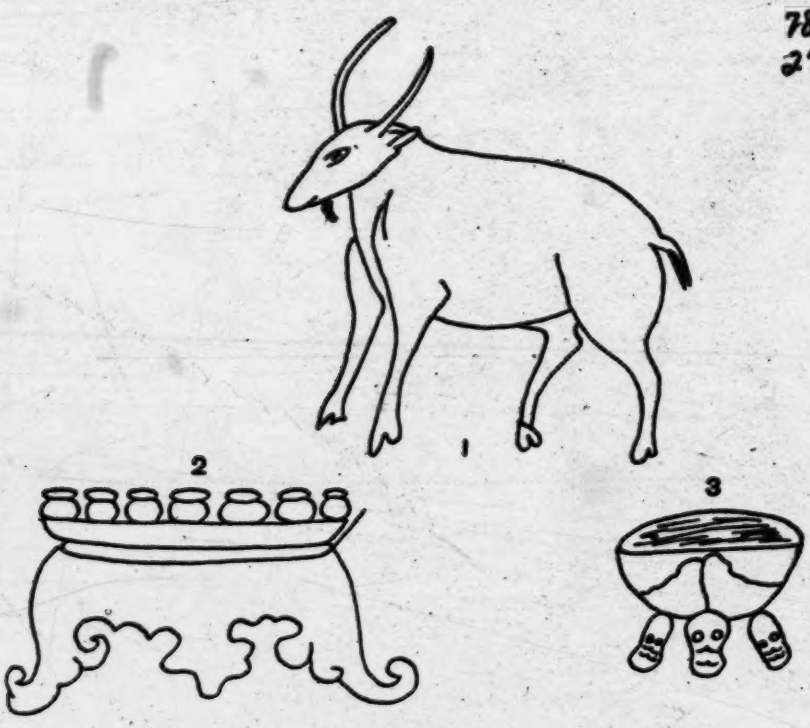


1. *Dur-Kung*. An earthen cremating oven set up on a plinth of earth. There is an aperture on each of the four sides to allow of ventilation, and ensuring a draught so as to expedite the burning of the corpse which is placed in it in a doubled up posture. The whole is made of dried mud bricks. 2. *Pe-Pud*. An offering of flour. 3. *Pe-Rak*. A cake of unleavened bread with edges turned inwards.

796 Friends, relations, and neighbours now call on each other
574 carrying with them small vessels of beer and 5, 7, or 9
685 breads (the taking of six breads being contra-indicated). The children of the village in the meantime make a house to house collection of meat, bread, and other eatables. Whilst the housewife is engaged in producing the food thus claimed, a diversion is afforded when the children surreptitiously steal the *Skyin*, *Pe-Rak*, *Pe-Pud*, *Nang-mChod*, and the *Chu-Pud*, though receiving their ration of food from the incautious housewife.

Mr. Ribco M-3 (no date) 1988 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4 Ladak

On the 3rd day part of the offerings already mentioned are devoted to the moon with the words: "Happy life, happy new year, happy day, happy stars." In cases where the housewife has not been able to forestall the theft of the offerings by the children, fresh ones must be made and



1. *Skyin*. Dough effigy of an Ibex. (4" long from crest to rump.) 2. *Chu-Pud*. These 7 cups of water used for sacrificial purposes are placed on a table as illustrated. 3. Nang-mchod. Vessel of beer made from a human skull. Sometimes the blood of sacrificed animals is placed in this bowl.

offered. The remainder of the *Skyin* and *Pe-Rak* offerings are then distributed to the children, a girl giving the *Pe-Rak* offering to another of her own sex, and a boy bestowing the *Skyin* offering to a male companion. The sport of arrow-shooting (*Da Rgyab-Ches*) is indulged for two days, followed ten days subsequently by one day of this sport.

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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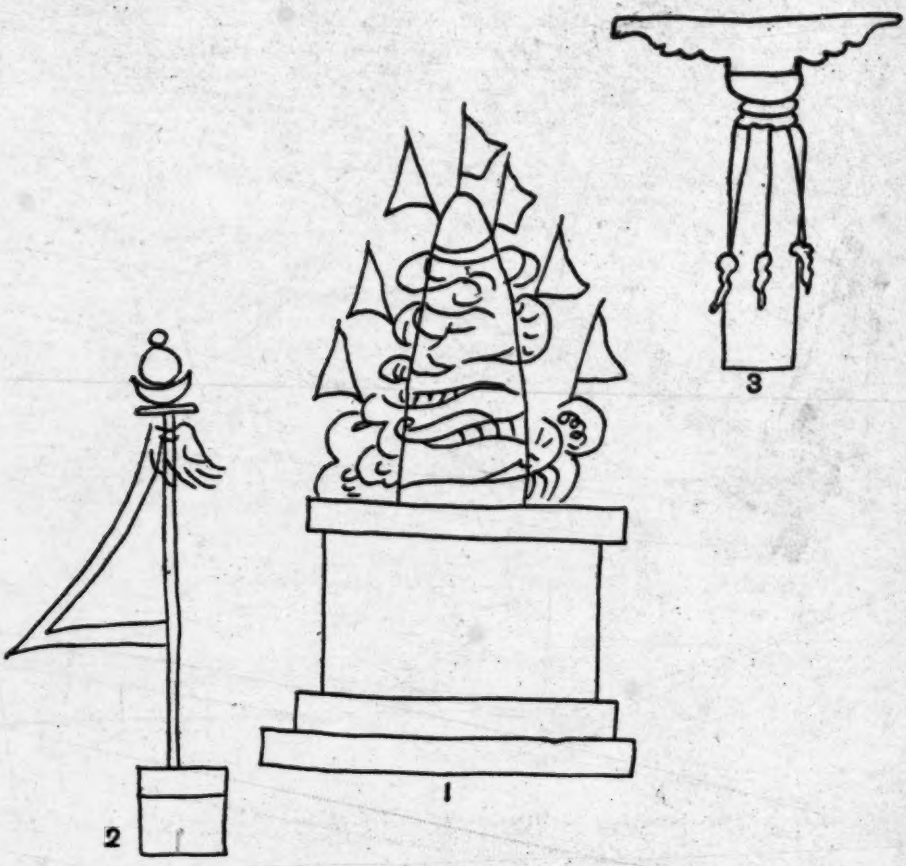
796 that person a handful of roasted barley (*Skor-Yos*). On
● 782 this day the Rajah of Stog (a village in the Indus valley near Leh) sends three *Kal* (120 lbs) of roasted wheat to certain villages in which he has a special interest in land



1. *Hla-To.* A cairn with a pole in the middle round which horns of animals, flags and other relics are placed. 2. *Dar-Chen.* The flag pole with a yak's tail on it, which is erected near the *Hja-To.* 3. *Shrub-Hla.* The first fruits of the harvest attached to an upright post supporting the roof of a house.

or other property. This store of wheat is placed at the confluence of three roads through which the circumambulators will pass, and his agent doles out a cupful of grain to each devotee. Moreover, such of the villagers who desire to obtain merit and have not joined the procession, take it

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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upon themselves to regale the pilgrims with grain, and beer. This is, however, a purely voluntary act.

E

The act of ploughing and seeding (at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th month) is preceded by an offering of butter, flour, and beer, a small pat of butter being stuck on the crown of each man's head. The handle of the plough (*Shol*), the oxens' heads, and the handle of the wood spade (*Pak-Tsa*) with which the women harrow or beat the clods of earth after ploughing are similarly dealt with. Whilst the assembled people eat and drink the remainder of the offerings, the following prayer is offered:

[4] May the plough remain unbroken;
May a good harvest and blessings to our house ensue;
Sow the seed.
May the youths and maidens gather in a good harvest;
May the carrying in of the harvest by the maidens have no end;
May the reaping by 100 youths have no end;
May the yatra [5] festival and weddings ensue;
Cause 100 large bins of grain to be filled.

[4] *Original Ladakhi dialect*

A kanas ma ka nas
a chi li gi man dra li
Sa bon debs
Nyi ma da bi ta yang shog
Na chung rgya si skyas te mi tsar ches
Kyogtong rgya si rnga ches mi tsar ches
Ya tra dang bag ston btang ches yong chu ga mdzad
Rgya bang rgya gang chu ga mdzad.

[5] *Ya-tra*

Is a feast when the villagers are regaled with beer, dumplings, and pastry. It is held in autumn and winter in memory, and for the benefit of the souls of those that died during the last year.

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Your tails are as fine as a sinew;
You have gone round the threshing floor until the
sweat broke upon you;
You have gone round until your tendons contracted.

When the grain threshed by the oxen has been winnowed, the ceremony of blessing the grain is performed. Around the heap of grain four grain sacks, with their open ends facing the heap, are laid in the form of a square. Fried barley flour and butter (*Sur*) is placed on the threshing floor at the circumference of the heap of grain, whilst the droppings of the cattle (*Lcha*), an image of the god of harvest (*Sku-Dra*), and a few grains of corn (*Skrub*) are imbedded in the pile of grain. Scattering a few grains of corn hither and thither, a man invokes the god by saying:

I offer this;
Oh Aria the Lord of wealth, may the grain increase
as the droppings from the oxen.[8]

The 17th and 18th days of the 10th month are times specially assigned for the celebration of marriages. These ceremonies held in Ladakh suffer very little modification or addition in ritual, for departure from the accepted customs handed down by tradition is considered to be an affront to the communal conscience.

WALTER ASBOE

AN IRISH FOLK-POEM

THE following poem was taken down, in 1933, on the Great Blasket Island, Kerry, from the singing of Peig Sayers the story-teller (see *Béaloideas*, vol. II, p. 108). As I have never seen another version in any collection of Irish folk-poems or elsewhere, it may be of interest to have it recorded here, in the Blasket dialect,

[8] *Original Ladakhi dialect*
mChod
Nor gi bdag po a-ri-a rdzam pa la.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

000 snow fields are reached, even in the summer, before crossing one of the high altitude passes.

782 Here and there, all over Lahul, Buddhist monuments which are so typical of Tibet are to be seen along the road side. These include *chötens* (*mCh'hod-rTen*), Tibetan equivalents of the Indian funerary *stupas*, and *mani* walls. The first are cenotaphs erected by the pious in order to gain merit, the others are long walls made up of large slabs of stone on which prayers have been inscribed; generally, the prayer *Om Mani Padme Hung* is the principal one to be seen, and hence the name *mani* for these walls. Around the fields near the houses of the cultivators, and in greater numbers clustering round monasteries known here as *gompas* (*Gon-pa*), tall, white banners, also printed all over with consecrated prayers, can be seen fluttering in the wind. They are prayer flags and, while they bring a sense of security to those who believe in their efficiency in combatting evil spirits, they are also very decorative, greatly enhancing the picturesqueness of the landscape.

2. POPULATION

162 It is difficult to estimate exactly what the number of the population in Lahul really is. A census can only be taken in the summer when the winter snows have thawed, and at that time most Lahulis leave for neighbouring regions and many emigrants (mainly graziers) come in. It is estimated that the figure should be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a very small one. The entire region is sparcely populated, with everybody living almost exclusively in the three main valleys. There are no real towns, but quite a few villages, which stand in their fields and not on spurs of hills as is often the case in hilly country. It is mainly visiting shepherds who take flocks to the summer pasturages.

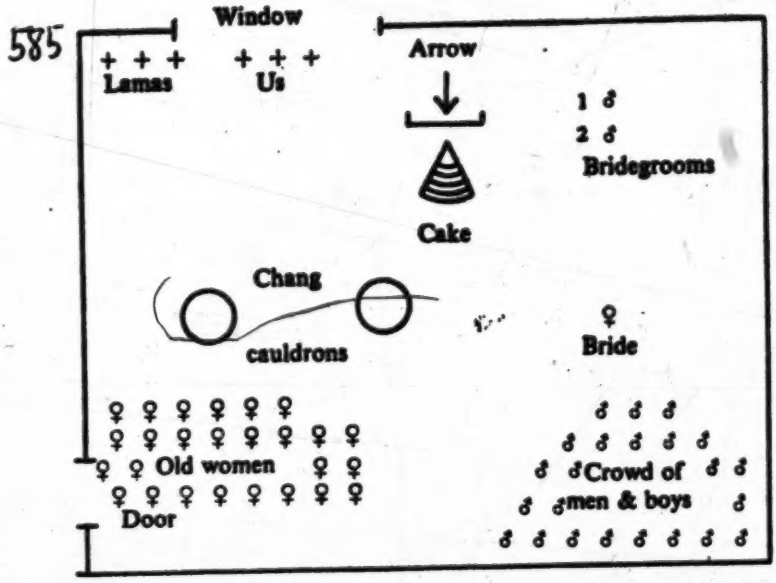
162 361

777 [199] The people of Lahul are a mixed collection. They speak four distinctly different languages and belong mainly to two principal religions. These are Hinduism and Buddhism, but it cannot be said that a clear cut distinction exists between the adherents of the two since many profess to belong to both. There are also some low-caste menials, blacksmiths called Lohars (Garas (*mGar-ba*) in Tibetan) and agriculturalists called Shipis or Dagis, who appear to follow some primitive form of animism. The pure Hindus of Lahul are Brahmins, very exclusive in their behaviour, and the Buddhists are all of the Ka-gyut-pa (*bK-brGyut-pa*) or Drug-pa (*aBrug-pa*) sect of lamaism from Bhutan. This is a more

[564]

[993]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul



Sketch 1. Plan of main room of Tolag-pa House of Gumling during the polyandrous wedding there on the 1st July, 1938.

other two being very young and fidgety and incapable of behaving as they should at their wedding. The eldest of the brothers was on the [292] right and he wore a yellow silk gown with a bright green sash diagonally across it, a charm box round his neck and a little Lahuli embroidered hat on his head. His brother was plainly dressed in everyday clothes and was seated on his left.

In front of the eldest brother, in a square box full of grain, stood a [182] tall arrow with prayer flags attached to the head. Next to it, and in front of the second bridegroom, there was a conical cake of *tsampa* with the small figure of a goat fashioned out of butter at the top. In the centre of the room were two huge cauldrons of *chang*, enough to keep the party going for quite some time. The back of the room, facing us, was full of people, many old women on our right, and a mixed group of men and boys just opposite.

The bride was brought in and dumped near the younger brother, to his left. She remained lying there without moving, still gently moaning [354] but having given up her violent protests. The room was in darkness when she was carried in, but no sooner had she been put down on the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony.

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard.

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval.

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights.

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

so, but always two days later, and when they make their appearance, everyone on the bridegrooms' side is very polite to them, for they protest against the violent way in which their daughter has been abducted, in accordance with the best traditions.

We went off to lunch after that, and on returning in the afternoon, visited the private chapel of the house, the *lha-k'hang* (*lha-k'hang*), where the three lamas were busy preparing offerings which still had to be made to the gods so that the wedding should be auspicious. They had consulted the scriptures, they told us, and the things which we could see on the altar were those that they considered appropriate for this occasion. Before a large statue of Buddha, together with the usual presentations of water, grain and *tsampa* moulded *tormas* (*gTor-ma*) or dough figures, there were a leg of mutton, the arrow with the streamers to it, standing in a box of grain, which we had seen in front of the senior bridegroom at the ceremony of the previous day, and a platter upon which stood the large figure of a stag also moulded in dough, with twelve points to its antlers, surrounded by small, coloured flags and two *dos* (*mDos*) or string-cross traps for evil spirits. The lamas were most obliging and pleasant, and although we interrupted their devotions, took great pains to show us everything. They told us that the stag would be thrown away and burned before the wedding festivities had come to an end.

Next, we went up onto the roof again, attracted there by various curious visitors from Tibet who had stopped off on their way south to see what was going on in the Tolag-pa house. There we found a space filled with a lot of men from the party, sitting round the wall, while in the centre, before them, huge cauldrons of *chang* were being prepared. Upon asking, I was given to understand that the bride was shortly coming up to give flowers to each of the men in exchange for small coins which they would give her for good luck. The *chang*-girl, whom we knew from the first day, was there distributing the alcoholic beverage to all in turn, still dressed in all her finery. Below this space on the roof, I heard that there was another room for tea drinkers, and that a similar ceremony would take place there, too.

The bride did come up soon after that, and she duly distributed flowers and received money in exchange. Everybody then got very drunk on the *chang* until the lamas came out with the stag offering and threw it away into a specially built bonfire below the house, while everyone hissed loudly at the devils which were being thus destroyed. Dancing followed, the men nearly all reeling drunk, but then I was told that for

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

Trade routes through Ladak are important, and there are three prin-

131 487 cipal roads: that to Central Asia, to Sinkiang in China, over the Karakorum Pass (18,550 ft.) from Leh towards the north; that to Tibet along the upper course of the Indus (eventually going on beyond the divide with the waters of the Brahmaputra towards Shigatse and Lhasa in Ü-Tsang); and that to Srinagar, capital of Kashmir, to the west, which used to be called the Indo-British Treaty Road (really a prolongation and continuation of the Central Asian road). The road from Kulu which I had followed is only a secondary one, and that over Rupchu is not worth considering at all as an artery for trade.

133 [101] Scenically, Ladak resembles Tibet more than it does Lahul. In Rupchu, which, strictly speaking, is a part of Ladak, although an isolated one, I already noticed that I was no longer in country like the valleys of Lahul. I was on high plateau, with mountain ranges around me which did not seem particularly high but which in reality, because of the altitude at which I already found myself and from which I observed them, were among the highest anywhere. With the Indus valley, although still at an altitude of over 10,000 feet, I reached a milder environment. Here, there were trees and grass growing along the banks of the river and its affluents. Villages were visible, high up, above the long stretches of rocks and shingle brought down by rivers in spate, where glacier water runs on the surface before going on underground to link up with the main watercourse in the valley. *Chötens*, *mani* walls and large *gompas* were everywhere to be seen, as befits a Buddhist, Tibetan lamaist country.

[137] [361] 708 782

2. *Population*

162 795 The population of Ladak at the time of my visit was estimated at 32,999. It was divided up into the conventional distinctions between Buddhists (29,410),[1] Mohammedans (3,470), Hindus and Sikhs (49) and Christians (70). The proportion of men to women (important among a people practising polyandry) was given to me as 14,760 men to 14,650 women for the Buddhists, as 1,730 men to 1,740 women for the Moslems, 36 to 13 for the Hindus and Sikhs (who rarely bring their women with them to these distant parts) and 37 to 33 for the Christians (nearly all converts of the Moravian Mission). As can be seen, the bulk of the population is made up of the Buddhist Ladakis of Tibetan extraction. They nearly all belong to the *Drug-pa* sect, although there are also rep-

[564] [1] The low-caste Mōns, Garas and Bhedas, all artisans, were apparently included among the Buddhists, although their religion appears more akin to animism.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

Stanzin Kündzom refused to speak during the whole interview. I tried to draw her out at the beginning, but she made it perfectly clear at once that she would only say something if I paid her then and there. Not wishing to do this for fear of setting a bad example and creating a precedent, we carried on with her husband who was somewhat more accommodating, and eventually gave him a monetary reward when we had finished, for which he expressed his thanks.

That same morning, Joseph and I went on to another polyandrous family of Mulbek, called *Yoktso-pa* (*gYog-Ts'hogs-pa*) (Table 37). These people, who appeared to be as poor and as suspicious of us as the others but were slightly more accommodating in that they did admit to being polyandrous, lived in a *k'hang-gu* in which there were two brothers married to one wife, and in a *k'hang-chen*, the inhabitants of which were the two sons of the former and their common wife, young people who had only recently been married and did not yet have any children.

Tsewang, the eldest of the older generation, acted as the informant, but his brother, Tsewang Paljor, and their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, assisted him greatly. These people told us that their parents, Paljor their father, and Skidzom their mother, had died some years ago, and that they were consequently occupying the *k'hang-gu* now themselves, since the marriage of their grown-up children. Their eldest sister, Tseten, was married away in *bag-ma* to three brothers in a household called Alea-pa, while the second sister, also elder to them, Chosang Rolma, was a nun. This woman was present at the interview, and we heard that she was normally resident at Himis gompa, but that she often came home on visits. She had no particular inclination to be a nun, it seemed, since she had been sent to the monastery by her parents when, as a child, she had nearly died, and they had made a vow that if she recovered, they would dedicate her to Himis.

The informant and his brother, together with their common wife, Nordzom Rolma, had had three children, two boys, Sonam Wangyal and Tsewang Tashi, and one daughter, born between these two, called Tashi Pal-mo. The latter was married off to Tashi Sonam of Ṣhak-pa Household, while the two boys had a wife in common, whom they had married recently. Her name was Tashi Kidzom, and they lived with her in the *k'hang-chen*, which they had just taken over. They had been married too short a time to have children yet, and that is all that the words "no issue" mean in the genealogical table.

It had not been too difficult here, to find out that these people were

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ#

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

792 361 [788] [778] [782] 562 778

* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

A TRIP TO LADAKH (*continued*)

792 SOME little time before we reached Mulbe we had
292 heard noises like the bellowings of the bulls of
574 Bashan, for they seemed to be more than ordinary
534 bellowings. As we turned the corner we heard other sounds, such as the beating of drums and cymbals and squealing flageolets, and then came into view the monastery band. The monks were dressed up in their best red garments, with most curious and awe-inspiring headgear, consisting of huge red-cloth helmet-looking erections which gave the band a very smart and martial appearance. The trumpets which bellowed and brayed so loudly were of copper, about seven or eight feet in length, truly colossal.

Then came the abbot of the monastery with his following of monks, together with the great people of Mulbe, to welcome the Commissioner Sahib. They brought presents of food and large jugs of home-made cider, called "chang."

782 At Mulbe there is an inscription of King Ides abolishing living sacrifices. This was not, however, obeyed, and the people continued to sacrifice goats before the pre-Buddhist altars, tearing out the heart of the living animal.
[113] (See Dr E. F. Neve's book, *Beyond the Pir Punjal.*)

526 In the afternoon we were entertained by a game of polo, for every big village has its polo ground, which is generally kept in good order, the grass being kept green by irrigation.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 293 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt, on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is 291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially 302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

2: Biscoe M-3 (1880-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
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bright red, green, yellow and gold, carved with dragons and sacred symbols. 778 353

On the tables were metal cups and goblets, and on each table was a basin of holy water, an oil lamp burning, the chalice for the "chang" (cider) and paten for the bread, a "dorje" (a prettily carved brass or silver dumb-bell-looking article used by the priest during part of the service), also a little drum often made of a human skull sawn off at the top to allow for the skin to be stretched. There were also some goblets made of human skulls, and a human thigh-bone used as a trumpet. 782 534

Down the middle of the chapel are low benches in lines, end on to the row of figures, on which the monks kneel facing the altars as they read their sacred books. On the left side of the chapel are rows of copper beakers full of chang, from which the monks refresh themselves when they become sleepy over their much reading. Then on the left wall are shelves in which their books are kept. These are long strips of paper or parchment manuscripts. 346 792 796

There are five chapels kept each day. When any great person dies the monks are paid to read through a certain number of their holy books. They each take so many pages, and read through them aloud, all together, each one reading something different, so there must be a fair volume of sound. I do not know if volume of sound has any value and so adds to the merit of reading so many thousands of words.

These people have evidently thought out a truly mechanical way to salvation. When electric power reaches Ladakh and prayer wheels are worked by motors, merit will speed up a great deal and Nirvana will be within reach of all. The chapel needed much cleaning. There was an overwhelming smell of lamp oil, or burning 788 344 792